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ABSTRACT

This document contains three reports dealing with popular misconceptions about school desegregation. The papers deal with quality education, educator attitudes, and white flight. The first paper focuses on the following questions: (1) How does desegregation affect academic achievement? (2) What is the effect of desegregation on the minority child's self-concept and his/her education and career aspiration? (3) In what ways does desegregation influence the manner in which students of different races get along? (4) How do teachers and students relate to one another in desegregated schools? The second paper provides the results of a survey conducted on superintendents and principals from eleven southern states. Educators were asked questions related to time of desegregation, conditions under which desegregation took place, and size of school district. In the third paper, two tests of the hypothesis that school desegregation leads to white flight are offered. The migration data presented here suggest that if there is white flight, desegregation is not making whites flee cities any faster than they have in the past. (Author/AM)

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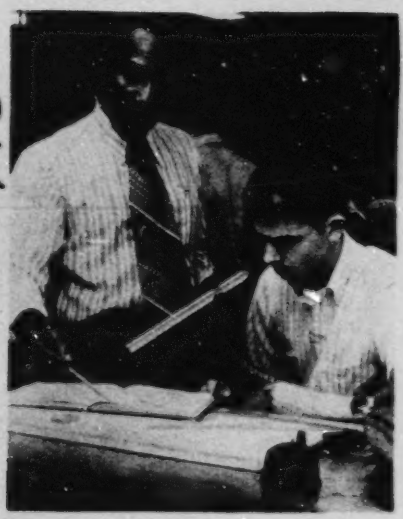

THREE MYTHS:

an exposure of popular misconceptions about school desegregation

by meyer weinberg, charles m. grigg, david sly and louis pol.

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THREE MYTHS:
AN EXPOSURE OF POPULAR MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

by

Meyer Weinberg, Charles M. Grigg, David Sly and Louis Pol

MAR 17 1977

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AND TO ALL THOSE who have contributed to this publication and the struggle for equal opportunity in education. And to those parents, children and educators who are rising to the challenges of multi-racial schools and are making real the promises of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution.

INTRODUCTION

In the 22nd year since the *Brown* decision striking down segregation in the nation's public schools, equal opportunity in education remains an elusive goal. The Court then found that to segregate black children, solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority in them that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone, and that segregation did the greatest damage in public education and violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The Court's order called for the elimination of segregation with "all deliberate speed." A fundamental question became to what degree shall segregation be eliminated. Ultimately, the Court has given the resounding answer: "root and branch." A second question arose over the meaning of "all deliberate speed." After 14 years of litigation that challenged resistance and go-slow schemes, the courts finally answered in the 1968 *Green vs. New Kent County, Va.* case: "desegregate now!" Finally, the question of the means to be used to desegregate schools has come center stage and awaits a final resolution in the courts. The issue has received repeated attention by the federal judiciary.

In the *Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* case, it was stated (by the Federal District Court and affirmed by the Supreme Court) that "magnet schools," re-drawing attendance zones, pupil transportation ("busing"), the closing or re-orienting of certain schools, etc., all are legitimate tools to be used in eradicating dual school systems. The point was to fashion a plan, using the tools at hand, which would truly achieve school desegregation.

The Southern experience over the past decade has finally produced a situation in which more than 50 percent of the region's schools are relatively free of segregation. In many places, too, where resistance once made national headlines similar to those in Boston and Louisville, honest efforts toward desegregation, establishing stability and enhancing educational quality increasingly are the rule. Moreover, today many Southern leaders accept full compliance with desegregation efforts, though often grudgingly. And among Southern educators there is now widespread (albeit guarded) acceptance of school desegregation. Findings of a survey of principals and superintendents, conducted for the Southern Regional Council by the Institute for Social Research at Florida State University, under the direction of Dr. Charles Grigg, document this new attitude of acceptance, and are the substance of one of the three studies which follow. Even Southern resistors in the education establishment have adopted less visible though nonetheless insidious means of resisting. Now, instead of defying court orders or drawing desegregation plans which have tokenism as their intent, they make subtle use of discipline within schools as a means of forcing black students out.

The region has obviously not resolved all of its problems related to desegregation. Advocates of equality of opportunity in education wrestle with a whole host of what have come to be called "second generation desegregation problems," and in the urban cities of the South, with problems similar to those of the North. But, since explosive tensions such as those surfaced in Boston and Louisville have not erupted in recent years in the South, Southerners have some reason to view the future with a certain cautious optimism.

That future, however, many Southern educators and desegregation advocates feel, could now be in jeopardy by events taking place outside the South. They are concerned that these events and the reactions of responsible officials to them "will re-open old wounds that have been healed." Others, outside the desegregation movement, view the same circumstances as a concrete illustration that while the nation has been willing and anxious to push for equality in the South, it is not so anxious to do so in the North.

The fact is that the courts have ruled schools, North and South, must be desegregated and where deemed feasible the courts have allowed school districts to draw their own plans to achieve this. Many have included pupil transportation ("busing") because residential and school location patterns were such that to follow existing boundaries would have precluded any meaningful desegregation, which in many cases was the intent behind school lines and residential patterns anyway. Where local systems have developed their own plans, they usually have imposed a heavier burden on black communities by typically closing blacks schools, by creating a steady loss of employment opportunities for black adults, and by transporting black children for greater distances and in greater numbers than white children. In fact, under most plans of whatever origin, the burden for adjusting falls most heavily on blacks. This is the case in Louisville, Ky., where black students, according to the mayor, will be bused "for 8 or 9 years out of 12 while whites will be bused 1 or 2 years." The usual reason given for this by federal judges, local superintendents and even some attorneys for black children, is that this approach will make desegregation more acceptable to whites.

Today school desegregation, North and South, is intimately intertwined with concerns over the quality of experience children have in public schools, the increasing abandonment of public schools by the growing middle class, concerns over educational content -- its relevancy and accuracy -- concerns over students' academic performance and conduct, concerns as to school finance, concrete concerns over the quality of public education. These concerns are felt at a time when student outlooks, understandings and dreams of the kind of world they want to live in are changing. They are being felt also at a time of widespread rethinking of education goals and purposes by educators. All of these currents combine to affect profoundly the world of elementary and secondary education. They in no small way also affect all facets of organized and formal education. In brief, we are in a time of immense complexity for public education. And we are in a time of crisis for school desegregation.

Resistance to desegregation which has festered beneath the surface in many urban and Northern school districts for years has emerged full blown in response to stepped up desegregation efforts in these settings. Increasingly, such resistance has been fueled by the strong anti- or equivocal positions taken by officials in government, particularly in the Congress, and the past and present Presidents of the United States, both of whom adopted a posture unique to the American presidency in the 22 years of legally enforceable desegregation. President Ford has brought the presidency full circle to a position of forceful attacks upon the federal judiciary, accusing the courts of having "gone too far" in ordering the eradication of segregation through the use of "forced busing." Indeed the Ford administration has given every indication of trying to subvert desegregation. He has even questioned the constitutionality of the *Brown* decision itself. Sadly, too, in recent years there has evolved a growing disaffection within the ranks of equal opportunity advocates themselves, added to by the release of the so-called "Coleman Report."

The report was delivered by Dr. James S. Coleman before the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in April, 1975. At the time, desegregation plans, which included the transportation of students, were before the courts in major cities such as Boston, Detroit, and Louisville. Dr. Coleman's thesis was this: while school segregation decreased greatly between 1968 and 1972, most of the decline could be credited to the desegregation progress in the South. Moreover, Dr. Coleman argued that re-segregation has been occurring in urban school systems because of desegregation attempts that involve the busing of students. He said that such rulings were defeating the purpose of desegregation, because whites in these cities were simply leaving as a result. He described this as "white flight" brought about by large scale busing. Despite the fact that in very few of the twenty districts he cited was busing actually required, Dr. Coleman's report has continued to be cited as proof that desegregation ultimately will not work.

Advocates of equal opportunity as well as informed school administrators are well aware of the discrepancies in what Dr. Coleman said his research showed and what it actually did show and they are also aware of the fact that except in rare circumstances, "white flight" is most pronounced *before* large scale desegregation is either ordered by the courts or voluntarily decided upon. They are also mindful of the fact that most high-tension resistance to desegregation tends to diminish after two or three years. But they concede that the impact of the Coleman report is detrimental to the desegregation process.

Ironically, this adverse myth of Dr. Coleman comes at a time when solid data is emerging that clearly demonstrates that while the academic performance of white children tends not to be affected by desegregation, the academic performance of black children is tending to improve in desegregated classroom settings. This finding was reported by John Egerton in our previously cited report, by the National Assessment of Education Progress's recent report* on Science achievement in our nation's schools, and by others. Meyer Weinberg's "Desegregation and Quality Education," the

first of the three papers presented here, offers an extensive overview of major research on the question of the effect of school desegregation on student achievement.

In the fall of 1975, as schools opened, protests in Boston and Louisville mounted, unfortunately aided by President Ford's statements opposing "forced busing." The President said the courts had apparently ignored a 1974 law requiring them to consider other proposals "before they actually use the busing remedy." In making this statement, the President was less than accurate, as a careful review of court ordered desegregation plans before and after the passage of the 1974 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) would have revealed. In fact, in Boston and Louisville, the two most volatile and publicized communities experiencing civil disorder with the broadening of school desegregation, attorneys for both sides and the judges in both cases carefully considered that portion of ESEA referred to by the President and were somewhat guided by this legislation.

Despite the inaccuracies of the President's statement, the Senate passed legislation designed to further stymie desegregation by prohibiting HEW from threatening aid cutoffs to communities that refuse to transport children beyond the school nearest home. This was the so-called Biden Amendment, named for its sponsor Sen. Joseph Biden, who had been viewed as a liberal. Ironically, this lessening of HEW's enforcement powers came at a time when HEW was under court order to seek compliance in 17 Southern and border states with Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (*Adams vs. Weinberger*), and while HEW was under suit to seek compliance in the rest of the nation.

Hence, the President's position alone, and such legislative procedures as the Biden Amendment, though adverse to a wholesome national climate were viewed by persons knowledgeable of and committed to desegregation as probably more symbolic than substantive. However a more recent development has given these same people cause for alarm. The U.S. Supreme Court on June 28, 1976, struck down a 1970 circuit court ruling which held that the Pasadena, California school system was accountable for eliminating and preventing the re-occurrence of racially identifiable schools through the annual adjustment of attendance zones. The high court's ruling gave substantial support to the President's position and that of HEW, which over the past few years has retreated from its duty to enforce all civil rights provisions of the ESEA and Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

What seems to be ignored by many is that busing is not the issue. Rather, the controversy over busing merely raises the question of the nation's long-range commitment to the principle of equal opportunity in education. In such a time, we believe there is a need for reaffirmation of this principle and also for a factually based, calm analysis of events and issues that have created the present crisis, as well as for a reasoned evaluation of what should be the role of education in a democratic society.

From Dr. Coleman's report, and indeed from many other sources in-

cluding newspaper stories and editorials, the following hypothetical set of circumstances is widely alleged to exist. As black enrollment increases in schools, a "tipping point" (variously estimated at between 30% and 49%) is reached and whites flee to the suburbs or to private schools. In brief, desegregation, it is alleged, won't work because it results in white flight. Moreover, critics allege that desegregation has no positive educational value.

There is a singular lack of documented research to support these hypotheses. In fact the most systematic studies in existence refute Dr. Coleman's white flight assertions. One study of eight Florida county school districts shows that over a two-year period (a time of desegregation) only 3.6% of white parents withdrew their children from public schools in favor of private schools.** The research, conducted under a grant from the National Science Foundation, found no evidence of a precise "tipping point." Moreover, busing was found to be unrelated to the parents' decision to remove their children from the public schools.

Another study conducted in 86 Northern school districts shows that school desegregation has little or no effect on "white flight" as measured by the change in percentage white enrolled in public schools.*** Even in two districts with the highest amount of desegregation that had significant white flight, the percentage was minimal and temporary. White flight, the study shows, stabilized to a rate lower than the pre-desegregation period by the third year after desegregation in the only two districts that showed any significant change. The report also shows that desegregating under court order does not increase white flight, nor does large scale desegregation in large school districts.

On the point of pupil achievement, a recent evaluation of ESAP by the National Opinion Research Center showed:

> *The effects of school racial composition on achievement were generally small. Both races did less well in schools that were over 70 percent white, and most groups did best in racially mixed schools (41-70 percent white). Fears that white achievement has suffered because of Southern school desegregation appear to be unfounded.*
>
> *What goes on within a desegregated school has important effects on the achievement of both races. The racial atmosphere is important. Liberal white racial attitudes seem to improve black performance at both grade levels. Racial tension is detrimental to white high school students' achievement. In short, the quality of race relations within desegregated schools is an important concern..*

The research we have cited does not refute the fact that whites have, indeed, migrated from central cities to the suburbs, but most such migration had taken place prior to court orders involving busing and like-

ly would have taken place even if school desegregation were not an issue. David Sly and Louis Pol in the closing paper in this report raise challenging, as yet unaddressed issues in this regard, issues which affect the future racial make-up of our cities and their school systems.

A position in support of equal opportunity in education and support of busing as a legitimate tool to achieve it does not deny the legitimate concerns of parents who have moved to suburbs to find better quality schools and to avoid what has come to be seen as a lack of order and lowering of standards following desegregation. No parent, black or white, affluent or poor, wants their children to attend chaotic and inferior schools. But terms and goals need to be defined. We believe, at a minimum, that quality education means an educational process that makes learning a happy experience and one that prepares youth for a productive role in society. We believe that it can best be achieved, perhaps finally can only be really achieved, in classrooms that bring together students and educators from all parts of the communities in which they live, and that it cannot exist in an atmosphere that separates and divides. Metropolitan school desegregation plans, carefully worked out, could be a useful instrument in this regard.

The desegregation process, because it has brought schools themselves more into the public's attention, has also more sharply revealed to more people the shortcomings of public education. Among other problems frequently cited by parents, teachers, and students are classroom disruption, overcrowded classrooms, the lack of challenge to students to learn, the atmosphere of school as a place of detention, rather than a place for education. What can be done? As stated in our earlier report, *School Desegregation: A Report Card from the South,* there is no magic formula that can bring instant solutions. But there should, at least, be some form of human relations department and ongoing counseling available in every school system undergoing desegregation, a step many Southern school systems are undertaking. For there are many and subtle interpersonal attitudes that students themselves are often not emotionally equipped to resolve alone. They should be intimately involved in the process of relieving tensions between groups, but persons skilled in intergroup relations, committed to equal educational opportunity and to a high quality of public education, should be part of the staff of such programs. Teachers, though many are properly motivated for such a role, lack the time and training for what would, in many circumstances, be full time responsibilities.

There are today, of course, a host of innovative ideas for improving the quality of education and, in fact, many have already been put into use in desegregated situations, if for no other reason than to respond to the complaints of white and affluent parents over the type education that would be available to their children in a situation where the races would be mixed. These include in-service teacher training, lowered pupil-teacher ratios, the formation of parent-student advisory committees, more instructional aides.

We do not believe, either, that parents stated fear of potential

violence and racial discrimination in desegregated circumstances can be dismissed as simply racist or overly sensitive rhetoric. They are real, as the findings of Sen. Birch Bayh's committee has disclosed. But precisely because they are real, they must be dealt with in the context of law and good education practices, not avoided out of reluctance to face their reality nor used irresponsibly as "proof" of unresolvable racial animosities. Reported acts of violence *have* increased in the past few years. But there is no comparative data between the situation today and five or ten years ago. Disciplinary problems, fights within schools have occurred over generations. What is different now is that such violence *is* being reported and interracial incidents are the ones that receive publicity. A recent study conducted in Indianapolis schools showed that 80 percent of the violence reported there was intra-racial, which is to say between whites and whites, between blacks and blacks. However, media attention in Indianapolis focused on the twenty percent of violence that took place between whites and blacks. Many studies have documented that minorities are disproportionately disciplined in desegregated schools.

The media in the present day desegregation trauma, in fact, has too often exacerbated, rather than ameliorated tensions. Sometimes it has been irresponsible in its duty for careful reporting of facts, falling into the usage of terms such as "forced busing" and "court ordered busing"; when, in fact, no court has ever ordered busing, *per se*. Rather, as previously mentioned, the courts have accepted busing as a legitimate tool for desegregation, but only one of many. "Forced busing" is, in itself, a subjective term, presuming that busing occurs in an atmosphere of resistance overcome by overwhelming power, an action lacking the approval of anyone, including the writer of the story, or anyone in the community or, indeed, on the school board which might have approved the plan incorporating it.

The media, of course, is not alone in its lack of regard for clarity or objectivity. Politicians, civic leaders and school administrators are oftentimes equally guilty. But the power of the media to influence public opinion is far greater.

The issue of busing is a false issue. What is at stake goes beyond the matter of placing children of one race in schools with children of another. We are talking about equal opportunity in education. We are talking about obeying the law. We are talking about building a democratic society. These are matters that deserve the most serious discussion and decisions about them should not be made in an atmosphere of recrimination or with the desire to make political gain (as appears to be the case with the present contenders for the presidency). For we are talking, finally, about children and the kind of nation they themselves will make for future generations. This seems of particular significance, for throughout the present day trauma in Boston the best single hope -- as proved to be the case also in many parts of the South -- has been that the attitudes of the students themselves were generally more positive than those of their parents. In this there may be a lesson for all parents North and South, black and white. The world in which *they* grew up and for which they set

the standards is a world that is changing faster then they wish or perhaps can even comprehend. But given support, given encouragement, given a reaffirmation by long-time advocates of equal opportunity, given enlightened creativity and imagination by educators, the youth of the seventies may yet be the crucial force in making the long sought for goal of equal opportunity in education a reality.

In our continuing support of desegregation we have consistently sought to ascertain and surface facts on critical issues affecting the desegregation process. Furthering this attempt we present herein three reports by distinguished scholars dealing with educator attitudes, with quality education, and with white flight. We believe that their work begins to fill a void in research on these subjects.

Leon Hall
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REFERENCE NOTES

* A project of the Denver, Colorado based Education Commission of the States.

** Everett Cataldo, Michael Giles, Deborah Athos, and Douglas Gatlin, "Desegregation and White Flight," *Integrateducation*, 13 (January-February, 1975).

*** *The Political and Social Impact of School Desegregation Policy: A Preliminary Report.* Christine Rossell. A paper presented before the 1975 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, September 2-5, 1975.

DESEGREGATION AND QUALITY EDUCATION: QUALITY AND EQUALITY IN OUR SCHOOLS

by Meyer Weinberg

Every child in America deserves a first-rate education yet few receive it -- some, because of racial discrimination; others, because of poverty.

Many Americans think that only blacks and the poor are victimized by inferior education. This is far from the truth. A researcher at the University of California recently reported that "of the 12.4 million children who will probably fail to obtain teacher marks of 'C' or better, approximately 10.8 million will be white and come from families having an annual income between $7,000 and $15,000."[1] Undoubtedly, black and other minority children suffer proportionately more, if in smaller absolute numbers.

So serious is the growing educational incapacity of public schools that academic success has come to mean that achievement test scores for some children did not fall as much as for others. In city after city, the schools continue to function tolerably well for shrinking numbers of middle-class white and black students. For increasing majorities, however, elementary academic skills are more and more elusive.

Most chilling is the widespread attitude among educators that non-achieving schools are inevitable. This situation is charged up to the preponderance of poor and minority children who are viewed more as a menace than a challenge. Their homes and families are assigned high responsibility for academic failure. At the same time, substantial parent participation is discouraged if it threatens to become other than yea-saying to the existing school leadership. Meanwhile, millions of parents are reduced to helpless witnesses to the "uneducation" of their children.

How can public school systems which operate ineffectively for so many children and are severely segregated along the lines of race and class truly educate?

Two dominant viewpoints have emerged in recent years. The first is: "Desegregate and the rest will follow." The second: "Forget segregation and concentrate on quality education." Stated this way, neither is sufficient.

The exclusive emphasis on desegregation stems from several sources. Given the history of official segregation both in the South and North, the opening of schools to all was an indispensable goal of civil rights forces. "...Segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws," declared the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954.[2] It followed logically that ending segregation would restore equal protection. Little or no attention was paid to what specifically was to happen in the desegregated schools. In instructing lower federal courts as to how to manage desegregation, the Supreme Court in 1955 had declared that "school authorities have the primary responsibility for elucidating, assessing, and solving these [varied local school] problems [arising out of desegregation]."[3] Civil rights leaders were willing to leave the actual operation of desegregated schools in the hands of school authorities. In part, this reflected a confidence

in the professional integrity of educators; besides, civil rights advocates had few ideas of how to operate a school, desegregated or otherwise. Thus, history, hope, and lack of expertise led to concern with merely opening the school doors. Good or better education, it was presumed, would follow.

Exclusive concern with quality education, on the other hand, arose from other sources. Racial concentration, whether official or unofficial, was interpreted as a neutral factor in learning. In part, this was a tactical view. Since actual desegregation proceeded very slowly in the first years after 1954, and up to today -- especially in the North -- some exponents of quality education advocated educational improvement for minority children wherever they were. This approach was based on a faulty perception of governmental and school authorities as beneficent. It also assumed that these authorities feared racial desegregation so intensely that they would gladly exchange equal sharing of resources for maintaining segregation. In general, the quality education view assumed that segregation might even have a nurturing effect on the black child's development or that any damage was minimal. Its supporters also contended that actual learning gains under desegregation were non-existent or negligible in any case.

Neither of these two major approaches is itself capable of providing every child with a first-rate education.

A racist school system resists both views. The greatest educational inequalities co-exist with the highest degree of segregation. Indeed, the fundamental motivation of segregation is to facilitate unequal education -- privileges for some and deprivation for the others. Unquestionably, some children learn effectively under segregation. These tend to be the more gifted children. A segregated system may thus educate one-fifth or so of its minority children. The remainder have to make do as best they can. It is idle to imagine that these school systems stand ready to remedy this shortcoming on any significant scale.

The trouble with the exclusive-desegregation school of thought is not the support of desegregation itself but the exclusive emphasis on it. Throughout the South, but increasingly in the North, the daily reality of desegregation is revealing at least two kinds of shortcomings. These are the so-called "second-generation" problems of desegregation and the persistence of achievement gaps between black and white children. We have begun to deal with the first but the latter is all but ignored.

Many "second-generation" problems are educational in nature and were inadequately anticipated by desegregation advocates. Such problems include discriminatory disciplinary techniques, ability grouping and tracking systems that recreate segregated classrooms in formally-desegregated schools, exclusory practices in extra-curricular activities, and teacher and staff prejudice. Such practices are not typical of all or even most desegregated schools, but where they exist they interfere seriously with the educational progress of children. And where they exist, they make a mockery of the United States Constitution.

The persistence of an academic achievement gap between black and white children in desegregated schools is generally unaddressed by strong advocates of desegregation. The gap is maintained in part by the second-generation problems just discussed. Children must be put down before they can be kept down. The second-generation practices do both quite efficiently. But more important, perhaps, is the prospect of diminishing support of black parents for desegregation if their children share the company of white children but still do not share equal educational opportunity. Where black achievement has increased, black parents are the strongest proponents of desegregation; this is the case with most desegregated schools. It is unrealistic to expect enthusiasm in the face of continued academic failure.

So the statement frequently made by some desegregation advocates that their support for desegregation does not depend on any achievement benefit is difficult to understand. Desegregation is portrayed by them principally as an adventure in intergroup enlightenment rather than as a means of facilitating equal education. To be sure, getting along with others, especially if they are of a differing race, must be a high objective in the schools, let alone the society as a whole. But black parents are already rather expert in such relationships. What their children lack especially is accomplishment in the more academic aspects of education.

The attainment of a first-rate education for all children, then, cannot rest on either the exclusive-desegregation or the quality-education viewpoint. They must be merged into a broad movement that can eliminate the racism of systematically unequal education and its main structural support -- segregation. In other words, the same forces oppose both equal quality education and desegregation. Unless a school system is desegregated, it is not ready to undertake to educate all the children equally.

Desegregation thus has two interrelated purposes: to discharge a constitutional obligation to eliminate unlawful segregation and to stimulate the school system to practice equal education. Systems in which schools remain segregated lack any incentive to abolish unequal educational practices. In the largest cities of the country, which enroll a sizeable proportion of all black students, disparities between black and white are common. The single most valuable educational resource in these communities, i.e., the supply of experienced teachers, is very unequally distributed in favor of white middle-class schools. It is inconceivable that a redistribution of such teachers would occur short of a legal desegregation order. Nor has any school system volunteered such an action in the interest of quality education. Authentic quality education for all children would be greatly boosted by a fairer use of experienced teachers.

The attainment of high quality education for all requires far more than a declaration of lofty intentions. Unless new and plentiful resources are made available to children in hitherto-shortchanged schools, high quality will remain a mere slogan.

Is desegregation any more than simply mixing bodies? What are the

educational results of desegregation? Has it improved the quality of education for appreciable numbers of minority children? How has it affected the general quality of education in various communities? Does desegregation typically change more than the racial composition of a school?

To answer these questions fully requires several volumes. Here we can only report the principal findings of numerous studies that have been made of actually desegregated classrooms and schools.

In reviewing this evidence, we will examine material principally from three sources: (1) an as-yet-unpublished survey of research done for the National Institute of Education (NIE) in 1975; (2) *School Desegregation. Outcomes for Children* by Nancy St. John, published that same year; and (3) John Egerton's report on desegregation in selected Southern school districts, published by the Southern Regional Council in 1976. Only material that deals with the effect of desegregation on specific children in schools which were once segregated will be used. Most large-scale statistical studies are useless for our purpose since it is frequently impossible to trace effects on individual students, classrooms, and schools in such studies. Only somewhat more relevant are studies of schools which were never segregated but enroll both black and white students. Our primary purpose is to discover what happens when once-segregated schools are desegregated.

Four questions will be investigated. First, *how does desegregation affect academic achievement?* Second, what is *the effect of desegregation on the minority child's self-concept and aspirations for further education and a life-career?* Third, *in what ways does desegregation influence the manner in which students of different races get on with each other?* Fourth, *how do teachers and students relate to one another in desegregated schools?* Together, these topics cover a good deal of what people ordinarily mean by "quality education." We will also give greater credence to those studies which deal directly, at first-hand, with specific events at a specific school rather than studies of a more theoretical or statistical nature.

Desegregation and Academic Achievement

Generally speaking, black children learn more in desegregated than in segregated schools. White students continue to learn at their accustomed rates. As a result, the achievement gap between black and white children usually narrows in desegregated schools. In rare cases, the achievement of black children falls; it is virtually unheard-of for white children's achievement to decline under desegregation.

In a survey of research done for NIE, forty-eight studies of achievement in desegregated schools were examined.[4] In twenty-nine of the cases, achievement for minority students increased; in the remaining nineteen, no achievement effect was discernible. None of the cases recorded declines in academic achievement for either group of children.

The largest-scale achievement-effect study yet made covered Southern states participating in the federal Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP). Completed in 1973 by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), the study found that achievement scores of black male high school students attending these newly desegregated schools that received ESAP funds scored one-half grade level higher than their peers in other schools. This outcome was attributed by the researchers to "improvements in the [ESAP] schools' racial climate affecting the motivation of these students."[5] Only about half of the between-school variance in achievement could be explained by social-class factors.

As part of the NORC study, Ruth E. Narot investigated the impact of desegregation on the achievement of white students. She found that they achieved more in predominantly white than in predominantly black schools. They scored even higher, however, in schools near the mid-point, in so-called racially-balanced schools.[6] "Perhaps the most noteworthy conclusion," writes Narot, "is that any fears that white achievement has suffered because of Southern school desegregation are completely unfounded."[7] This observation takes on added force from the knowledge that the NORC study was concerned with large-scale desegregation, involving court-ordered busing.

Researchers in Dade County (Miami), Florida schools followed achievement changes from 1969-1970 through the 1970-1971 school year. It was found that on arithmetic tests, virtually all three groups -- black, Spanish, and "others" (non-Spanish whites) -- made at least one month's progress for each month in school.[8] (This standard is seldom reached for minority children in segregated classes or in compensatory education programs.) In two of five grades, blacks and "others" progressed at the same rate. In reading, however, all groups were less successful: "Others" scored a bit better than month-for-month; the Spanish, almost at that level; and blacks, distinctly lower than the level. On three grade levels (2nd, 4th, and 6th), black students who remained in segregated schools scored higher than their peers in desegregated schools.

Charles Lee Evans studied desegregation effects in Fort Worth, Texas, where a court order had been handed down. Black fifth-graders who attended newly-desegregated schools made significantly more progress in reading and arithmetic than did their peers in predominantly-black neighborhood schools. Black fourth-graders showed no achievement advantage. Evans also found no difference in the achievement of white students who attended formerly majority-black schools and that of white students continuing in neighborhood schools.[9] In a separate report on 1972-1973, Evans again found significantly greater achievement for bused black students than for peers in majority-black neighborhood schools. In addition, he found this advantage applied not only to fourth-graders but to black children in the third and fifth grades as well.[10]

Unfortunately, none of the three preceding studies was even published in printed form. The NORC study is available either in microfiche which can be read only on a special mechanical reader -- or in xerographic

form which is quite expensive. The Dade County and Fort Worth studies were reported in mimeographed form and are not generally available. Only one of the three is known among specialists -- and it has been discussed infrequently in the literature. The other two are undiscussed in the literature. Unfortunately, therefore, their favorable findings are unknown to researchers and the general public.

Studies in two more Florida counties have been made. Williams, in Brevard County, found that black students who transferred to a formerly all white high school achieved less than white students but more than other black students who remained in a segregated school.[11] A similar finding was recorded by Starnes who also reported that black students in desegregated schools did not suffer more test-anxiety than did their peers in black schools.[12] (Test-anxiety findings are highly variable, perhaps because they depend so much on local circumstances.)

Late in 1975, Harold G. Gerard and his associates published the first of two volumes evaluating desegregation in Riverside, California.[13] They found that after three to six years "minority students did not gain in achievement....nor did Anglos suffer."[14] Desegregation in Riverside, because of the heavy preponderance of white students (more than three-quarters of the total), consisted of a few Mexican American and black children in classes with Anglos. The Gerard group found a good deal of resistance among teachers to these minority students. (This is discussed in more detail below, pp. 21-24.)

Taken as a whole, the preceding studies are more or less typical: an overall positive achievement effect in most cases, an undiminished white learning rate, and lack of specification of precise reasons to explain either trend in achievement. More important than the exact size of the achievement change is that in most cases desegregation and educational growth were found to be compatible. Even in those cases which showed no growth for either black or white students, this frequently was a positive outcome since it reversed a trend toward falling black achievement. In no meaningful sense, however, can any of the above desegregation experiences -- even the most positive ones -- be regarded as optimal tests of the educational potential of desegregation.

The preceding discussion was based on experiences rigidly defined as desegregative, i.e., attendance in schools that were previously one-race schools but which are now attended by more than one race. A number of cases which other writers regard as desegregative -- schools enrolling black and white students whether they have always attended or not -- have been excluded here. For the record, however, it may be of some interest to note that the NIE report found that of twenty-three studies of such situations, achievement of black students was higher under interracial conditions in twelve studies, mixed in four studies, and unaffected in seven studies.

Self-Concept and Aspirations in Desegregation

To be black and have pride in one's self in a racist society is of major importance, especially for children. The family is the first educator in this matter. But the schools can -- at least, potentially -- follow closely behind. Evidence suggests, however, that the schools have not done so in most cases. Instead, they have, in Frantz Fanon's phrase, been busily decking black faces with white masks.

Black children aspire to a better world for themselves. By and large, they hope to attain as much material success as whites or more than whites attain. The greatest barrier is not an incapacity to dream but an inability to overcome obdurate social practices of a discriminatory character. Career opportunities for college-educated blacks have expanded dramatically while hundreds of thousands of young black people in the cities remain locked within a narrow circle of employment possibilities. Aspirational levels continue to rise. Acute awareness by black children of discriminatory practices leads to a conviction that forces outside the individual are primarily responsible for the low socioeconomic status of blacks. Researchers see this orientation as realistic and thus constructive for adaptation of black youngsters to their world.

Under desegregation, vocational and educational aspirations become more realistic which some observers interpret negatively as a drop in aspirations. Research evidence is scanty but indications are that attendance at desegregated schools benefits the adult job experience and other achievement.

What happens to black self-concept as a whole in school? In segregated schools there is a tendency for the self-concept of black children to be lower than that of whites in other schools. This is not always the case. Under interracial conditions, black children tend to have a self-concept as high as or higher than that of white children. In desegregated schools, fewer than a third of the available studies demonstrate any decline in self-respect.

Racial self-awareness has apparently increased sharply, both North and South. But the degree of such a rise has been overstated.

Research studies in the area of aspirations and self-concept are somewhat inconclusive in their main implications. They are far more valuable for disproving generalizations than for establishing clear guidelines to action. For example, the findings pretty clearly contradict the frequently-heard statement that black self-concept suffers when black and white children attend the same school.

Certain themes recur frequently in the self-concept studies, especially in cases in which a negative effect emerged. Often, there is the implication that negative effects result from action or inaction of the school. School policy or teachers may be singled out. In a number of

instances, the laissez-faire policy of a school is equated with non-concern, at best, by school authorities. In one community after another where desegregation came only in the train of sharp conflict, the school tends to relax and heave a sigh of relief rather than to gather its intellectual and human resources for new educational ventures.

Students and Fellow Students Under Desegregation

Thirty-nine studies of student interaction under desegregation were reviewed in the NIE study. In most of the cases, interracial interaction brought on by desegregation produced positive racial attitudes among blacks and/or whites. Tokenism was not a factor encouraging interaction but neither was it an absolute bar to the emergence of positive racial interaction. Leadership by staff and faculty emerged in many studies as a critical factor. In more recently-desegregated schools, where representative numbers of blacks and whites are involved, the importance of student involvement and responsibility for the school's program was found to be vital. Repeatedly, the principle of "some leads to more" is documented: in all but a few cases a history of having attended a desegregated school facilitated easier interaction in another desegregated school later on.

Some fifty additional studies have been made of student interaction under interracial conditions. These show strongly that interracial interaction usually leads to the development of positive racial attitudes. Studies of student disorders in interracial schools suggest strongly that institutional resistance to educational change is the single most abrasive factor in generating disorders. This fact has stimulated self-organization of black students along ethnic lines as a political counterweight to the unwillingness of the schools, especially in large cities, to offer a more meaningful education.

Black students in interracial and desegregated schools have been found to be far more resilient and capable of autonomous action than had been supposed. Some commentators, black and white, cautioned in the past that black children's self-conceptions were too fragile for the strains of desegregation. The empirical evidence strongly suggests that this is not the case.

Several research studies are especially revealing and suggestive.

Charles V. Willie made an unusually perceptive study of interaction in four newly-desegregated schools in Syracuse, two elementary and two junior high schools. Among the rare features of the inquiry were two: (1) observers in the classroom remained over the entire school year, thus affording Willie a mass of unique data, and (2) both race and recency of entrance of the black children were studied by including in the research a number of white children whose families had just moved into the area. The most compelling finding of the project -- discussed in the next section of this report -- related to the crucial role of administrative planning and leadership along with the contribution of the classroom teacher.

Willie suggests, with reference to white students in the receiving schools, that the greatest contribution of the desegregation process might be in dismissing "for all time in the minds of some whites the myth of the inherent inferiority of blacks."[15] He drew two general conclusions from the study. First, both groups of "new" students -- those who were bused and those who moved -- experienced similar problems with the resident students. Second, teachers tended to classify the new white neighborhood children as better integrated than they did the black bused students. Yet, both groups of new students felt equally well-accepted.

Socioeconomic status had relatively little effect. Tentatively, Willie concluded that low social status "tends to impede the assimilation of some new children into a new school setting but has no effect upon most of the children."[16] The school's educational climate outstripped social status as a determinant of interracial interaction. On the playground and in the classroom racial cliques formed at the start of the school year had all but dissolved by year's end.

Willie cautions against expectations of immediate success. He writes:[17]

> *In spite of the hostile climate at Lincoln or the laissez-faire setting at Monroe, the reassigned white and black children began to become a part of their new schools during the latter half of the school year. This indicates that there may be a development process to integration, moving at its own pace.....*

It should be noted that in the other two schools in which staff and faculty were better prepared to welcome the newcomers, success was prompt if not instantaneous.

This kind of study is valuable for its stress on the need for planning by school authorities. Too often, schools are desegregated by "doing what comes naturally," which in our society too often means racist patterns of behavior. Illustrations are readily found. During 1970-1971, for example, the National Education Association sent a team to study desegregation in Louisiana. A common occurrence, the observers reported, was the maintenance of segregated classrooms in formally-desegregated schools. Many of these all-black classrooms were taught by newly transferred black teachers. With respect to student interaction, the NEA wrote:[18]

> *One of the most tragic consequences of desegregation for the transferred black student is the forfeiture of his own sense of school spirit and group identity. In those black schools that are continued in use as a desegregated facility, the same obliteration of black identity occurs. Pictures and trophies are removed; the schools, even the most well-kept and freshly painted, are renovated and repainted... In one formerly all-*

black school, a large wall mural depicting the school's history had been painted over.

Civil rights groups have found many school systems discriminating against black students in desegregated schools and classrooms.[19]

The negatives are too plentiful to permit the conclusion that black and white students overcome all obstacles to productive cooperation. Both formal and informal studies do support a conclusion that more times than not a constructive relationship is worked out to the advantage of both groups. In many American schools, this is unprecedented.

Teachers and Students Under Desegregation

Although the number of formal studies is still very small, it is clear that school board members, superintendents, and principals have lagged seriously in supplying educational leadership in interracial settings. Studies of teacher attitudes suggest strongly a generally negative orientation toward minority children. Empirical analyses of interracial classrooms demonstrate the practical consequences of negative teacher attitudes. Examination of actually desegregated schools underscores the critical role of the teacher and principal. Positive examples are available in some number. The presence of black staff is especially important for symbolizing a break with past policies of segregation. Black teachers also help broaden the career possibilities of black children. Finally, black teachers should be seen as net additions to the supply of quality teachers. Evidence does not support the contention that teachers of a certain race are unable to teach children of the opposite race. Experimental studies by psychologists are beginning to provide knowledge about systematic effects of teacher-expectancy on student achievement.

It is a matter of experience and, increasingly, of systematic observation and study that the minority student's achievement is significantly dependent upon the teacher. In turn, teachers are prime actors in an institution still bearing major elements of racism. Personal attitudes of teachers, after all, very often express dominant community attitudes on racial and social topics. Minority children in schools labor under the accumulated weight of these ideological burdens. Somewhat encouraging is the frequency of reports based on responses of the minority students themselves that demonstrate the presence in a number of classrooms of an exceptionally constructive and accepting spirit.

A number of studies point up the continuing failure of school administrations and school boards to create the preconditions of equal education in the desegregated classroom.

Geneva Gay studied teacher-student interaction in the schools of Austin, Texas during 1973. Eight observers spent a total of 300 hours in various classrooms; 74 teachers and 648 students were involved. In addition to observational data, teachers replied to a questionnaire;

students supplied their own version of what was happening in the classroom. According to Gay, black children were shown to be receiving significantly fewer educational opportunities:[20]

> *....Opportunities for black students' intellectual development were simply not provided to the extent made possible to white pupils....Blacks received more criticism and were asked questions which required less demanding, complex cognitive processes.... Teachers generally expect[ed] white students' achievements to be higher than blacks' .... Teachers gave white students answers to questions when they were unable to provide them themselves, in addition to praising and complimenting their correct responses....By comparison, interactions with black students were often terminated by asking other students to give answers to questions blacks were unable to answer.*

These findings were supported by the first-hand reports of eight classroom observers. Quite consistent with Gay's findings were data supplied directly to her by students. (The same types of findings have been made with Chicano children attending schools in the Southwest.[21])

In 1974, five years after a sweeping court-ordered desegregation plan had begun operating in the schools of Charlotte, North Carolina, the *Charlotte Observer* conducted a public opinion poll of 857 black and white teachers in the schools. While nearly seventy percent of all teachers reported that a healthy educational atmosphere prevailed in their schools, a racial breakdown is revealing, as the following indicates:[22]

PERCENT OF TEACHERS ANSWERING "YES" TO THESE QUESTIONS:	*Black teachers*	*White teachers*
1. Do you think integration is worthwhile?	94%	56%
2. Do you think discipline is a serious problem in your school?	29%	64%
3. Do you think the quality of education in your school is good?	87%	70%
4. Do you think students are learning more?	36%	27%
5. Do you think students are learning less?	10%	34%
6. Are you optimistic about the future of the school?	87%	47%

Clearly, black teachers tend to view desegregation as a wholesome educational experience for students, while white teachers were more skeptical and disbelieving. The same contrast was found in a number of other studies, both North and South.

The role of the principal emerges in many studies as crucial to the success of desegregation. Desegregated schools headed by black principals in the South during 1971-1972 were reported in the NORC study as standing a better chance of creating a favorable school climate for desegregation. Robert Crain, director of the study, comments on the irony of this finding alongside the widespread discharge and demotion of black principals in districts undergoing desegregation.[23] In Shelby County, Tennessee, Olds analyzed teachers' reactions to faculty desegregation. "The principal," he wrote, "was the single most important factor contributing to a positive commitment toward faculty desegregation."[24] Willie's study of Syracuse, New York also highlighted the role of administrative planning and leadership along with creative classroom teaching in ensuring successful desegregation.

In her 1975 book, *School Desegregation. Outcomes for Children,* St. John reviewed over one hundred studies of both desegregated and interracial schools. Most important of all her findings is that there is no *automatic* benefit to desegregation; much of its value depends on how it is carried out. Thus, a failure of desegregation to increase learning by minority children might reflect lack of planning by school administrators and teachers. It might reflect inattention to the special needs of minority girls. (Black girls generally profit less than black boys from desegregation.)

When black and white children become classmates, desegregation is a fact. But the next step is integration. This may be said to exist when every child is welcomed as an equal member of the school community and is provided with experiences that fulfill her or his educational needs. In a segregated school, neither of these conditions generally occurs.

When we leave the scholar's study and enter the actual arena of education, how well are desegregation and integration working? John Egerton, in his recent work, *School Desegregation: A Report Card from the South,* examined five desegregated Southern school districts in some detail. In addition, six other districts were reviewed by experienced school reporters. Egerton, one of the country's most dependable journalists in this area, reports a mixed situation, as St. John might have predicted.

Based on two special studies of public opinion among school people, Egerton summarizes the situation in the South:

> *...The school systems which have made a fair and thorough effort to achieve complete desegregation are beginning to reap benefits from the change. The ones which haven't made such an effort appear*

to be faced with mounting problems - problems that continued segregation is not apt to solve.

This observation is documented with examples from first-hand experience.

In Charlotte, North Carolina, desegregated since 1971, "It is generally felt that all schools at comparable grade levels are approximately equal in equipment and facilities, curriculum, programs, and personnel." This is a great advance over the pre-1971 situation in the city. Julius Chambers, the black lawyer who won the desegregation case in federal court, told Egerton that "all in all, many blacks see what they have now as a better deal for them."

The most startling success reported by Egerton is majority-black, rural Williamsburg County, South Carolina. Fully desegregated since 1970, the school enrollment is about three-quarters black. Since desegregation, academic achievement for the black children has risen sharply. Egerton writes of "dramatic improvements in the quality of instruction and learning for both races." Proportionately, about twice as many black high school graduates now, as before 1968, go on to higher education. (The figures are 25 and 12 percent.) Superintendent R.C. Fennell saw "desegregation as an opportunity rather than a threat," and made educational improvement a leading goal of the school system.

There are also school systems in which little or no progress toward high quality, integrated education has occurred. "Much has been done poorly," writes Egerton, "sometimes deliberately; much that needs doing has not been done at all."

In summary, desegregation is working when it is given a chance. Where the leadership is far-sighted, desegregation is becoming the key to high quality education for all. This is evident from the more formal surveys such as the NIE study and the St. John report. Informed journalistic reports such as Egerton's support the interconnectedness of high quality education and desegregation.

Educational Quality as Public Policy

The historical evidence is overwhelming that mandatory segregation created not two but one and a half school systems: one for the white children and a half for the black children. The white schools stood a fighting chance to educate their children moderately well. It was out of the question for the black schools to do likewise, since they were deliberately prevented from doing so.

Desegregation bears the promise of creating a single school system for all children, black and white. Such systems are, as we have seen, beginning to educate children more effectively than ever. Yet, neither courts, legislatures, nor administrative agencies have made good education

a legally enforceable right for children. Instead, at most they have been concerned with the separateness of educational facilities. If proof of deliberate intent to segregate is established courts will order desegregation. If, however, education of radically different qualities is offered to children of different races or economic classes, no "legal" issue is said to exist. This may be good law, but it reveals a limited knowledge of legal history.

Actually, American courts once did regard what we call quality of education as a legally relevant issue. In 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified and "equal protection of the laws" became a federal policy protected against infringement by states. Fifteen years later in 1883, a U.S. District Court decided the *Claybrook* case, perhaps the first test of equal protection involving racial discrimination in education. The court struck down a racially discriminatory system of financing schools in Owensboro, Kentucky. Each racial group was taxed separately to support its respective schools. Since white parents were far wealthier than blacks, they operated a school for nine to ten months a year, while all the black parents could afford was one open for three months. Black parents argued successfully that the disparity denied their children equal protection of the state school law. "The equal protection of the laws guaranteed by.... [the Fourteenth] amendment," held the court, "must and can only mean the laws of the state must be equal in their benefit as well as in their burdens, and that less would not be 'the equal protection of the laws.'"[25] (In 1886, a similar judgment was reached in the *Puitt* case.[26])

The doctrine of equal benefits and burdens seemed to insure a certain measure of comparable quality between black and white schools. In 1899, however, the U.S. Supreme Court found that the doctrine was not incompatible with Augusta, Georgia's closing down of the city's only black high school in order to finance more adequately a white high school. In *Cumming*, the high court held such a measure was not "a clear and unmistakable disregard of rights secured by the supreme law of the land."[27] Yet, at the same time the nine justices acknowledged that "the benefits and burdens of public taxation must be shared by citizens without discrimination...." In Augusta, nevertheless, blacks paid school taxes which could not benefit any of their children of high school age. Instead, they helped finance the secondary education of white children. Three years earlier, the same court had ruled in *Plessy* that public facilities might be separated by race provided the facilities were of equal quality. Together, *Cumming* and *Plessy* said to the public schools that they were free to separate and deprive black children despite the apparent meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment.

In the course of the Twentieth Century, the "equal" of *Plessy* became a cynical substitute for equal protection. Mandatory low-quality education for blacks became the accepted rule in the South and elsewhere.

In 1954, a few months before the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregated

schools unconstitutional, members of the Court exchanged confidential memoranda on the subject. In one communication, Justice Felix Frankfurter advised his colleagues:[28]

> *It would....make a mockery of the Constitutional adjudication designed to vindicate a claim to equal treatment to achieve "integrated" but lower educational standards. Surely we can take as a starting point that in enforcing the Fourteenth Amendment the Court is, broadly speaking, promoting a process of social betterment and not contributing to social deterioration.*

Segregation permitted a less-than-acceptable education for black children. The ending of segregation, stressed Justice Frankfurter, should also eliminate unequal education, and as soon as possible after segregated schools were abolished.

Four months later, in the epoch-making *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the Court struck down state-required segregation. Justice Frankfurter's point, however, appeared nowhere in the pronouncement. State authorities were informed of their constitutional duty to desegregate. They were not assigned any legal responsibility to raise educational standards. Since schools largely failed to desegregate, neither separation nor educational deprivation was affected by *Brown*, at least for a decade.

From time to time during the latter 1950s and the decade of the Sixties, court desegregation orders directed that school boards adopt measures to eliminate the educational handicap caused by the now-illegal segregation. Not much heed was paid this part of the order, nor did the courts seem concerned to enforce it. As a result, the deprivation outlived the condition that gave rise to it, and still does.

As we saw above, numerous school systems are using desegregation as a means of raising the level of educational quality for all. They are beginning to practice the doctrine of equal benefits that underlay the *Claybrook* decision of nearly a century ago. Indeed, this approach is in line with the historic philosophy of the American public school which, unfortunately, was breached regularly when it came to poor and minority children.

The federal judiciary, however, still is reluctant to regard educational adequacy as a constitutional right of children. Three months before the *Brown* decision, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert J. Jackson confided to his colleagues that education had become "a right and more than that a duty, to be performed not merely for one's own advantage but for the security and stability of the nation."[29] The actual *Brown* ruling declared that "In these days, it is doubtful that any child can reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms."

Nearly twenty years later, the Court - by a 5-4 majority - ruled that clearly unequal schools yielding unequal education for Mexican-American and black children in Texas were beyond the power of the Supreme Court to remedy. Instead, the aggrieved parents were directed for a remedy to the state of Texas, the very authority that had created the unequal school structure in the first instance.[30]

The highest court, then, has refused to accept responsibility for the actual education of children beyond the opening of school doors to all. An exception was the unanimous Supreme Court *Lau* decision in 1973. It held that Chinese-speaking children in San Francisco were suffering illegal discrimination by being denied special training in English.[31] The basis of the ruling was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and not the Fourteenth Amendment. Some lower federal courts, on the other hand, have not hesitated to order extensive educational changes as part of a desegregation order. All the changes have related to schools enrolling large numbers of Mexican-American children, whose cultural heritage, including the Spanish language, had been ignored or suppressed.

In one curious sense, we have gone even further backward than *Plessy*, the 1896 ruling that permitted separate-but-equal public facilities. Under that doctrine, courts did in fact occasionally permit individual black children to transfer to a white school when the educational inadequacy of the black school was too glaring, even for the court. Today, apparently, the same inequality would not be found constitutionally objectionable. More likely, the federal court would refer the complainants to the state legislature for relief.

The states themselves have been of minimal assistance in raising the level of education. In one state after another, an "understanding" has long existed between the big city school systems and state supervisory officials: the state pretty much keeps hands off and the city system is freed from meaningful educational direction. This arrangement may have made some sense decades ago when large city school systems were far more adequate than schools in outlying areas. Today, the city schools which most minority and many poor white children attend, are in a severe educational crisis. Yet, the state regulatory agencies refuse to take responsibility for the quality of education within the borders of their own state.

Grand declarations, of course, continue to issue forth. No loftier one has been made than that in the revised Illinois Constitution of 1970 which proclaims: "A fundamental goal of the People of the State is the educational development of all persons to the limit of their capacities." Yet, actual conditions in the state's schools contradict the declaration. In Chicago, East St. Louis, and other cities, low levels of academic accomplishment mock the constitutional stipulation. Adult illiteracy is widespread. The State of Illinois has yet to warn any major school district that its low level of academic achievement is unacceptable under the state constitution. This lack of state responsibility for educational ac-

complishment means that the states are not accountable to any higher authority; in any case, not to the U.S. Supreme Court at present.

Where no public authority is held responsible for educational achievement, the level of achievement can only fall. To speak of quality education in this context is deceptive. Accordingly, attempts to construct tiny islets of high quality within a school system in which the principal trend is toward lowered quality schools will be swamped.

State education authorities have been just as remiss in guarding against the growth of school segregation. In Michigan, according to the state's Civil Rights Commission, the state education department has spent more money protecting school districts against charges of segregation than in trying to abolish the segregation.[31] Even in states where anti-segregation statutes, state supreme court decisions, or administrative procedures are in force, state authorities frequently fail to implement them. Here the largest cities are the "protected" areas, just as for state regulation in general.

Some few signs of an awakening in state enforcement of desegregation are becoming visible. In Iowa, Des Moines and Davenport are under state pressure to desegregate. The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission brought the Philadelphia school board before a state court which has ordered desegregation. The Illinois State Board of Education has declared quality integrated education to be its highest priority, and a number of cities, including Chicago, have been put on notice to produce acceptable desegregation plans. These new trends result partly from federal court action which deals ever more effectively with Northern urban segregation.

State inaction is a powerful barrier to quality education for all children. Since poor education is most frequently associated with segregated schools, failure to desegregate levies a further penalty on children. To be effective, a broad movement on behalf of good education must therefore be joined with a movement to desegregate the schools.

But how can school systems and state education authorities be made accountable for supplying every child with a first-rate education? Two avenues are legal action and political measures.

The sweeping educational failure of urban school systems has not yet been challenged in court. Such a lawsuit could highlight state neglect in guaranteeing the individual's state constitutional right to an excellent education. While arguments about excellence can be endless, since few agree on its precise definition, present levels of achievement cannot possibly be mistaken as adequate, let alone excellent. The community could learn much about the educational process from such legal proceedings.

A few parents have attempted to sue school boards for failing to educate their children adequately. These suits are designed to remedy weaknesses in an individual's schooling. A series of public policy law-

suits is needed to highlight the collective failure of school systems to educate.

Public policy lawsuits might not be necessary if present desegregation proceedings regularly incorporated educational stipulations. One objection might be that this would make courts into super school boards. Perhaps so, but it might equally be argued that the courts would merely be trying to restore to the school boards a determination to educate more effectively.

Courts customarily become deeply involved in non-court behavior when warrented by legal requirements. In patent litigation, courts decide on the basis of very technical data. Antitrust litigation often leads judges into the most intimate of business details. On principle, education cases are not different. In fact, they are more readily handled by courts since they involve publicly-owned rather than private property as in patent and antitrust cases.

If legal action is a possibility, political action in the broadest sense is more promising. Unless parents organize to demand high quality education, there is little prospect that their children will receive it. Nowadays, most organized parent action is of two kinds: (1) highly localized around one school or group of schools in a single school district, or (2) public policy discussion groups based on issues such as school finances. Neither has been very successful. Why not?

The localized approach has the advantage of immediacy and self-interest, since the local school is attended by children of the very parents seeking to organize. Yet, it is notorious that few parents are interested in this form of action. They are probably quite right because the fate of any school depends largely on the health of the school system as a whole. Further, seldom are problems of segregation raised from the perspective of a single school. Consequently, almost no significant educational change can come from action revolving around a single school.

The more generalized public policy approach has been, thus far, hardly less successful. Almost completely middle-class and white in composition, the participants tend to avoid problems of racial and economic inequalities within single districts. They prefer to be occupied with less contentious issues such as special education, school taxing arrangements, parental prerogative as an abstract concern, and the like. Since this approach evades the very issues that make for the greatest inequalities, no very broad citizen movement can emerge from it. In this sense, no threat is posed by an approach to entrenched policies and forces making for inequality.

Those who would work for "quality education" or for "desegregation" must seek ways of joining their mutual concerns or see each other's concerns frustrated. Legal, political, and other strategies need to be employed. But their focus must be on supplying a first-rate education to all children.

Some Current Issues

Let us review several leading issues that emerge repeatedly in current debates about equal education.

1. *Do blacks have to sit next to whites in order to learn?*

Of course not. Even in the poorest all-black school there are children whose academic record is exemplary. They are fully as talented as any white child and perform adequately by any standard. Many prominent black leaders attended all-black schools throughout their entire academic careers. Yet, their experience hardly supports the viewpoint that, for the mass, desegregation is not a prerequisite for high-quality education.

The question does not revolve around a relative few talented students who would make it on their own in any setting. The problem is with the majority of other children who need a great deal of help. Chances are, they will not get this help in a segregated school. Educational research has found repeatedly that an all-black school -- especially if it is one attended by poor black children -- is characterized by low staff and teacher expectations for student achievement, exceedingly easy grading standards, and a general atmosphere of educational defeat. Some children will escape these influences. Unfortunately, most will not. It is these latter children who stand to profit most from a constructively desegregated school.

Numerous public opinion polls attest to the fact that black parents understand this well. They show again and again that the parents desire desegregation most in the belief that their children's achievement will improve in a desegregated school. As we saw earlier, they stand on solid ground in their expectation.[32]

2. *Why can't we spend money on improving education instead of on busing?*

This question is asked frequently by people who believe that great sums of money are being spent on busing children for purposes of desegregation. Actually, the cost of busing children to new schools as a result of court-ordered plans averages between two and three percent of a school district's budget.[33]

Two points may be made about this expenditure. One is that it is necessary because the school board was found guilty of unconstitutionally depriving children of their right to equal educational opportunity. No expenditure for busing would be needed if the housing were not segregated. (In fact, in growing numbers of cases, courts exempt from busing those neighborhoods in which integrated housing is widespread.) Since constitutional requirements must be honored, however, some busing has been found necessary in many school desegregation cases.

Another point is that the busing cost is quite minimal. The money

involved could not improve education significantly if it were distributed equally among all students. (Keep in mind, in addition, that the school board that deliberately segregated children usually also shortchanged the same children. Thus, it was not in the habit of spreading expenditures evenly among all students.)

Educational quality is not lagging in our schools because the needed funds are tied up in desegregation expenses. Indeed, many of the most backward schools are also the most segregated. Segregation does not produce more money for those children who need it most. The reverse would be nearer the truth: segregation compounds the inequality while desegregation is an effort to reduce it.

3. *Isn't quality education more important than desegregation?*

Only if high quality education can be obtained under segregation. The evidence of American history is strongly against it.

Take Washington, D.C. Before 1954, when that city's schools were legally segregated, children in the white schools received a fair education. Black children, however, were not given standard achievement tests. The school system did not even want to know how deficient their education was. When the schools were desegregated in accordance with the Supreme Court's order, all children were tested. Not unexpectedly, the test scores of black students were found to be quite low. Somewhat illogically, critics attributed the low scores to desegregation. To be sure, when these scores were averaged along with those of the higher-achieving whites, the general scholastic average fell, compared with the pre-desegregation average. The critics neglected to observe, however, that the pre-1954 average excluded the scores of black children, who were not even tested.

Desegregation uncovers, it does not create, educational problems. Under desegregation, our educational problems can be examined in broad daylight. Nothing was done, or will ever be done, about them if they remain in the shadows of segregation.

To tell the truth, nothing much may be done even under desegregation. But research tells us that this does not have to be. Every desegregated school that succeeds is a further demonstration that high-quality education is feasible for every child and not for a chosen few.

We should be careful to avoid thinking that segregation is harmful only to minority children. Many white children, poor ones especially, are denied a high quality education. Simply going to school with children of their own race is not necessarily conducive to high quality education. High dropout rates for poor white children in the great cities should be sufficient evidence of that.

Equally important, segregation is not the explanation for the higher achievement of more privileged white children. Very few of these higher-achieving children usually attend schools with black children. Interesting-

ly enough, when they do so, in newly-desegregated schools, their academic achievement does not suffer. In other words, they learn as much in desegregated as in segregated (white) schools. It turns out, therefore, that for whites to attend schools with other whites means nothing for their high academic achievement.

Many white parents will wonder why, then, achievement scores are generally higher in white than in black schools. It is not the racial difference but more likely the different attitude of the school administration and staff that accounts for much of the difference. Middle-class schools more easily command the dedication and hard work of principals, teachers, and school boards. This is also true of middle-class black schools. The goal of a truly integrated school is to command the same outcomes for poor and minority children. A climate of universal educational accomplishment cannot develop in segregated schools.

4. *What is quality education?*

Quality education is the education that prepares children to make their own way, as life's challenges arise. Just what *that* requires is the subject of a controversy that has gone on for thousands of years. At least one fairly definitive prescription can be made: unless the child is literate and numerate, it is a play on words to speak of an *educated* child.

A school system that has grown to accept semi-literacy even among adolescents probably also sloughs away many more goals of education. *Low reading scores are frequently educational epitaphs rather than sign posts for improvement.* "Here lies the non-reader," the scores announce. Many well-meaning persons contend that "there's more to quality education than reading, writing, and figuring." Quite so. But whatever else there is lies beyond the reach of children unable to read, write, or cipher. Low reading scores are deadly serious affairs and should not be dismissed as "merely" this or that.

Poor parents, both black and white, are often only too willing to settle for at least proficiency in these basic skills. This is not because they are short-sighted as to the broader aspects of education. Rather, their attitude reflects a realistic response to the frequent failure of the schools to provide their children with the most elementary skills. They know the crucial role of literacy and numerical skills in our urban industrial civilization. These are survival skills and constitute, in that context, "quality education." When minority children in desegregated schools improve their mastery of these survival skills, parents naturally welcome the development.

A school system that lacked concern for poor and minority children before desegregation might well continue to do so after desegregation. Such examples are by no means unknown. For others, desegregation can become an opportunity for new educational adventures. Orfield points out how desegregation can loosen the rigidity which characterizes many schools and which interferes with new educational approaches:[33]

One of the things it does in many school systems, especially now that you are getting new input of teaching faculty into the schools' very rigid procedure, is break up that rigidity. By the time you desegregate students, you also desegregate faculty. In many cases you create new schools where neither the students nor the faculty have been there as a block before, where everything isn't settled, where there's an opportunity to change.

This very openness of newly-desegregated schools may be part of the reason why the academic achievement of minority students tends to rise in such schools. *Teachers are freer to innovate in these schools.* Although the statistical data are not available to demonstrate it, probably teachers in desegregated schools are more involved in re-thinking old procedures and models than are teachers in segregated schools.

But high quality education is by no means inevitable in desegregated schools. Nor is it in other kinds of schools. Whatever academic gains minority children have recorded in desegregated schools usually outstrip those recorded in most compensatory education projects where minority children remain together, typically in a racially-isolated school. And desegregation is far less expensive on a per student basis. Neither the tiny gains under segregated compensatory education nor the more substantial gains under desegregation are complete solutions to the problems of unequal education. To be practical, however, we should select the process that bears more promise under actual classroom conditions.

The greatest promise of non-segregated schools is that they may lead to educational gains for all children. The new learning spirit that many desegregated schools exemplify can help revive urban schools as educating institutions. Fewer middle-class people, white and black, would leave the city if the schools were more adequate. In this sense, desegregation could lead to less rather than more "white flight." The entire metropolitan area would benefit from such a development.

Controversy over education has been one of the marks of our times. No wonder -- the stakes are so high. Not until the present generation has there been a practical possibility of the schools actually educating the great mass of poor and minority children. It is this possibility that constitutes the single greatest challenge in American education.

The challenge is heightened by the real danger that urban school systems may soon declare their moral and financial bankruptcy. Thus, the struggle for high quality education in the cities is also an effort to save the public schools for all children, poor and rich, minority or white.

High quality education for all children is not a partisan goal, designed to benefit just one group or another. Racism and segregation have convinced many that keeping ahead of the "other" group is good enough; or, that not falling further behind the "other" group is sufficiently good education. Both views are profoundly wrong.

Parents who desire a good education for all children will recognize the common stake they have with all other parents. To banish racism and segregation in the schools will enrich the education of all. It is encouraging that such a goal is both hopeful and practical.

FOOTNOTES

1. William D. Rohwer, Jr. in *Integrateducation*, 13 (March-April, 1975), p. 4.

2. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483.

3. *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 294.

4. Meyer Weinberg, *Research on Minority Students: An Appraisal*, to be published in 1976.

5. Robert L. Crain (ed.), *Southern Schools: An Evaluation of the Effects of the Emergency School Assistance Program and of School Desegregation* (ERIC ED 085 425, October 1973), I, p. iv.

6. *Ibid.*, II, p. 73.

7. *Ibid.*, II, p. 78.

8. Derived from basic data in *Evaluation of Desegregation 1970-71* (Miami, Florida: Dade County Public Schools, June, 1972), p. 25.

9. Charles Lee Evans, *Short-Term Desegregation Effects: The Academic Achievement of Bused Students, 1971-1972* (Fort Worth, Texas: Fort Worth Independent School District, January, 1973), p. 23.

10. Charles Lee Evans, *Integration Evaluation* (Fort Worth, Texas: Fort Worth Independent School District, August 15, 1973), p. 2.

11. Frank E. Williams, *An Analysis of Some Differences Between Negro High School Seniors From a Segregated High School and a Nonsegregated High School in Brevard County, Florida* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Florida, 1968), pp. 44-53. (University Microfilms Order No. 69-16, 050.)

12. Thomas Albert Starnes, *An Analysis of the Academic Achievement of Negro Students in the Predominantly White Schools of a Selected Florida County* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1968), p. 26.

13. Harold B. Gerard, Norman Miller, and others, *School Desegregation, A Long-Term Study* (New York: Plenum Press, 1975).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

15. Charles V. Willie with Jerome Beker, *Race Mixing in the Public Schools* (New York: Praeger, 1973), p. 3.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

18. *NEA Task Force on School Desegregation in Louisiana* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, February 15-22, 1970), p. 17.

19. See, for example, *Student Pushout: Victim of Continued Resistance to School Desegregation* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, November 23, 1973) and Betsy Fancher, *Voices from the South. Black Students Talk About their Experiences in Desegregated Schools* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, August, 1970).

20. Geneva Gay, *Differential Dyadic Interactions of Black and White Teachers with Black and White Pupils in Recently Desegregated Social Studies Classrooms: A Function of Teacher and Pupil Ethnicity* (January, 1974), pp. 273, 280, 282, and 283 (ERIC ED 091 489).

21. See Theodore W. Parsons, Jr., *Ethnic Cleavage in a California School* (Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1965); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Teachers and Students. Differences in Teacher Interaction with Mexican American and Anglo Students.* Report V: *Mexican American Education Study* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, March, 1973); and Greg Jackson and Cecilia Cosca, "The Inequality of Educational Opportunity in the Southwest: An Observational Study of Ethnically Mixed Classrooms," *American Educational Research Journal,* 11 (Summer, 1974).

22. *Charlotte Observer,* July 8, 1974.

23. Crain, *Southern Schools.*

24. Morris Eugene Olds, *Teachers' Reaction to Faculty Desegregation* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Tennessee, 1970), p. 114.

25. *Claybrook v. Owensboro,* 16 Fed. R. 302 (1883).

26. *Puitt v. Commissioners,* 94 N.C. 519 (1886).

27. *Cumming v. County Board of Education,* 175 U.S. 545 (1899).

28. Memorandum of January 15, 1954, quoted in Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Knopf, 1976), p. 686.

29. Memorandum of February 15, 1954, quoted in Kluger, *Simple Justice,* p. 690.

30. *Rodriguez v. San Antonio Independent School District,* 411 U.S. 1 (1973).

31. See *Integrateducation,* 13 (November-December, 1975), p. 30.

32. Gary Orfield, book to be published by The Brookings Institution.

33. Gary Orfield, "Examining the Desegregation Process," *Integrateducation,* 13 (May-June, 1975), p. 129.

THE SOUTHERN EXPERIENCE WITH DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS VIEWED BY SUPERINTENDENTS AND PRINCIPALS IN ELEVEN STATES

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The South has had over twenty years experience with the process of school desegregation. It was the first to feel the impact of the *Brown* decision in 1954; it was the first to feel the impact of the (1964) Civil Rights Act. During this period much publicity focused on those schools or school districts having difficulty with or actively resisting desegregation. More recently, national attention has shifted to areas outside the South such as Detroit, Pontiac, Pasedena, Boston (and one of the first desegregation "success" stories of the mid-Fifties, Louisville, Kentucky) and their problems of desegregation, prompting an apparent "reappraisal" of school desegregation as national policy. The impetus for reappraisal in the mid-Seventies sprang from violent reactionary experiences of non-Southern cities (at their worst, no more bitter than those of Southern cities in earlier years); it gathered momentum as the implications of looming Metro-wide school desegregation became clear in cities North and South. But what of the Southern experience to date? How have the school districts in the South proceeded with the task of desegregation? In an attempt to answer these questions, the Southern Regional Council in collaboration with the Institute for Social Research, Florida State University, initiated a survey which, although relatively impressionistic, provides some insights into how the South as a region has progressed.

The survey focused on the local school district, the administrative unit responsible for the education of our children. Superintendents were selected as pivotal persons within each district eminently situated to give information about the desegregation experience in that district; as the chief administrative officers for the school districts it was assumed they could best answer our questions. A second perspective on the Southern desegregation experience was obtained by asking principals the same questions.

In round figures, there are about 12 million students enrolled in 2,600 public school systems of the eleven Southern states. More than eight million of the students -- about 66 percent -- are white, more than three million (28 percent) are black, and about three-quarters of a million belong to other racial minorities. (There are, for example, about 600,000 Mexican American students in Texas, more than 65,000 Spanish-surnamed students in Florida, and about 15,000 Native American students in North Carolina.)

Many school districts in the eleven Southern states are very small (below 300 pupils) and in many cases these have only one school. These districts were excluded from the sampling frame which was accordingly made up of 2,176 school districts. The size distribution of school districts included in the frame is shown in Table B1 (page 39).

The distribution of both number and size of school district varies widely among the eleven states. On the one hand, Texas has 772 school districts, 380 of which have enrollments between 300 to 900, while Florida has only 67 school districts only two of which have an enrollment under 1,000. To insure that each state would have a minimum of ten school districts in the sample, 13.4 percent of the 2,176 school districts were drawn. This resulted in a sample size of 292, which were allocated propor-

TABLE B1

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS BY SIZE BY STATE							
		Size of School District					
State	Total	Over 25,000	24,999 10,000	9,999 5,000	4,999 2,500	2,499 1,000	999 300
Alabama	126	5	5	32	46	34	4
Arkansas	286	1	3	11	20	68	183
Florida	67	13	15	12	15	10	2
Georgia	188	9	8	26	59	69	17
Louisiana	66	7	13	26	14	6	0
Mississippi	150	1	4	17	57	63	8
N. Carolina	150	6	25	44	47	26	2
S. Carolina	93	3	13	21	20	31	5
Tennessee	145	4	9	36	41	33	22
Texas	772	16	34	41	94	207	380
Virginia	133	9	14	28	40	37	5
TOTAL	2,176	74	143	294	453	584	628

tionally to the number of school districts in each size category. The school districts within each size category were then selected by use of random numbers. This procedure insured that all states and all size categories of school districts would be represented in our sample. (Names and selected characteristics of school systems in the resultant sample are appended, following page 66.)

After each school district was selected the superintendent and one principal for that school district were sent a letter addressed to them and signed by the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council with the questionnaire enclosed. A prepaid return envelope was also enclosed.

Table B2 and B3 (page 40) give the return rate for both questionnaires first by state, and then by size of school district. The superintendents had the higher return (58.9 percent) whereas 47.6 percent of the principals returned the questionnaire.

The numerical representation of the 172 school districts returning the superintendent questionnaires is very close to the numerical representation in the region by both state and school district size. All states but Texas are within three percentage points of their representation in the region.

TABLE B2

RETURN RATE FOR QUESTIONNAIRE TO SUPERINTENDENTS AND PRINCIPALS BY STATE			
State	Number of School Districts Sampled	Percent Returned Superintendent	Percent Returned Principals
Alabama	18	44	44
Arkansas	51	37	47
Florida	10	80	50
Georgia	24	50	33
Louisiana	10	60	70
Mississippi	20	50	30
N. Carolina	21	86	43
S. Carolina	12	50	42
Tennessee	18	56	72
Texas	90	46	49
Virginia	18	61	49

TABLE B3

DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNS OF QUESTIONNAIRES BY SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT FOR SUPERINTENDENTS AND PRINCIPALS					
Size of School District	Number Sampled	Superintendent		Principal	
		No. Returned	% Returned	No. Returned	% Returned
Over 25,000	13	7	53.8	7	53.8
10,000-24,999	20	14	70.0	9	45.0
5,000-9,999	42	27	64.3	22	52.3
2,500-4,999	61	31	50.8	32	52.4
1,000-2,499	80	50	62.5	36	45.0
300-999	76	43	56.6	33	43.4
TOTAL	292	172	58.9	139	47.6

Educational excellence and equity for too many public school students remain an elusive goal. The *Brown* decision opened up a multitude of complex issues and problems in the public schools of the South. Some school districts made the transition quietly and without publicity. Other school districts resisted the change. Immediately after 1954, there was a plea for time. It was said that the change could not be made immediately. Some 21 years later, the process has not been completed in many school districts. Did time work for those districts which began the desegregation process after the *Brown* decision, or did those that resisted the mandate until after 1963 have more difficulty?

The particular circumstances in each individual school system are sufficiently different to preclude uniform remedies for eliminating segregation and discrimination. As a result the action of legislatures, the Congress, the courts and the legal profession in addressing the problem have been confusing and often contradictory. In the South court ordered desegregation has for the most part been identified with the region's large urban systems. Many of these, however, have not yet completed the desegregation process. In many rural systems desegregation was completed by the early 1970's. Many or most of these rural or small systems desegregated voluntarily. Other school systems were under federal directive to desegregate.

Three factors, time of desegregation, conditions under which desegregation took place, and size of school district obviously influence the course of desegregation. Questions related to these factors were asked of superintendents and principals.

Size of School District

There were 11,615 local public school systems with 300 pupils or more in the United States in the fall of 1973. In the eleven Southern states, there were 2,176 such local public school systems. A great deal, though by no means all, of the publicity since 1954 has been on the difficulties of desegregation particularly in urban school districts, most of which were relatively large: Charlotte, 77,848 enrollment; Louisville, 44,795 enrollment; Little Rock, 22,000 enrollment and Boston, 96,000 enrollment. But 95 percent of all local public school systems in the United States are much smaller than these. As evident in Table B4 (page 42), less than 1.6 percent of the nation's school districts are over 25,000 enrollment.

A higher proportion of the South's school districts have enrollments of 25,000 or more and a lower proportion have enrollments under 1,000. In general, however, the distribution of school districts in the South is approximately the same as in the nation.

TABLE B4

PERCENTAGE OF OPERATING LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS BY SIZE OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS, UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES		
Size Category	United States	Southern States
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
25,000 and over	1.6	3.4
10,000-24,999	4.8	6.6
5,000-9,999	9.9	13.5
2,500-4,999	17.4	20.8
1,000-2,499	30.1	26.8
300-999	36.2	28.9

Type of Desegregation -- Voluntary, Court Ordered, Federal Directed:

If the question, "Do you know of any school district which desegregated voluntarily," were asked to the average citizen, the answer would probably be "no." Court ordered and federally directed desegregation receive the headlines, yet 53.4 percent of the school districts as reported by the superintendents were voluntarily desegregated, 33.7 percent desegregated by court order and only 12.9 percent were federally directed.

Time Desegregation Began:

A third factor which is unique to the Southern experience is the length of time school districts have had to desegregate. There were 24 school districts which were all white (18) or failed to indicate the date of desegregation (6). The remaining school districts (148) were grouped into three time periods: 1954-1963, 1964-1969, and 1970-1971. Thirty school districts, or 20.3 percent, desegregated during 1954-1963; 99, or 66.9 percent, in 1964-1969; and 19, or 12.8 percent, in 1970-1971. It is well-known that there was little progress immediately after the *Brown* decision and that the main impetus came after the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Substantial desegregation in most of the sample school districts was a fact by 1970 or 1971, the last years mentioned by any of the superintendents.

Interrelation of Time, Type of Desegregation and Size of School District

As is true in most social phenomena, there is no simple explanation of how or why the desegregation process in the South went the way it did. How much a factor was size combined with the time span in which de-

segregation took place? How much a factor was size and the type of school desegregation? In Table B5, size of school district and time period of desegregation points up the fact that the majority of school districts were desegregated in the period 1964-1969; size of school district was independent of time desegregated. Table B6 relates size of school district to type of desegregation. School districts under 2,500 enrollment represented 55 percent of our sample, but account for 66 percent of all voluntary districts desegregated and 30 percent of all court ordered desegregation. School districts with over 2,500 enrollment represent 45 percent of our sample, but 70 percent of all court ordered desegregation.

Each of the three time periods used in our analysis represents a combination of size of school district and type of desegregation. In the post-*Brown* period (1954-1963), 76 percent of the school districts which

TABLE B5

DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED BY SUPERINTENDENTS BY SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT AND TIME DESEGREGATED

	Size of School District											
	Over 25,000		24,999 10,000		9,999 5,000		4,999 2,500		2,499 1,000		999 300	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1954-1963	2	28.6	4	28.6	4	15.4	4	13.8	9	33.3	8	25.8
1964-1969	4	57.1	9	64.3	19	73.1	20	69.0	27	62.8	21	67.7
1970-1971	1	14.3	1	7.1	3	11.5	5	17.2	7	3.9	2	6.5
TOTAL	7	100.0	14	100.0	26	100.0	29	100.0	43	100.0	31	100.0

TABLE B6

DISTRIBUTION OF QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED BY SUPERINTENDENTS BY SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT AND TYPE OF DESEGREGATION

	Size of School District											
	Over 25,000		24,999 10,000		9,999 5,000		4,999 2,500		2,499 1,000		999 300	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Voluntary	1	14.3	8	57.1	10	37.0	11	35.5	29	60.4	28	77.8
Court Ordered	5	71.4	5	35.7	12	44.4	17	54.8	14	29.2	2	5.6
Directive fm/Fed. Gov.	1	14.3	1	7.1	5	18.5	3	9.7	5	10.4	6	16.7
TOTAL	7	100.0	14	100.0	27	100.0	31	100.0	48	100.0	36	100.0

TABLE B7

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO QUESTION AS TO TYPE OF DESEGREGATION BY SUPERINTENDENTS, BY TIME PERIOD DISTRICT DESEGREGATED

Question: Was desegregation of your school district:	Time Period Desegregated					
	1954-1963		1964-1969		1970-1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Voluntary	22	75.9	54	54.5	1	5.3
Court Order	5	17.2	30	30.3	15	78.9
Directive from Federal gov't.	2	6.9	15	15.2	3	15.8
TOTAL	29	100.0	99	100.0	19	100.0

desegregated were on a voluntary basis, and 54 percent were school districts under 2,500 enrollment. In the post-Civil Rights Act period (1964-1969), 54 percent were voluntarily desegregated and 48 percent of the school districts were under 2,500 enrollment. In the more recent period (1970-1971), five percent of the school districts were desegregated voluntarily and 47 percent were under 2,500 enrollment. In general, the more recent the desegregation the greater the probability that it will be court ordered and the system over 2,500 in size. From our data the school systems with over 25,000 enrollment are challenged most often, resulting in desegregation by court order or federal directive. The great bulk of litigation against the school districts was in the post-Civil Rights Act era, attributable to intensified efforts by local, black community leaders and civil rights organizations following passage of this Act.

Although the sample of school principals was selected from the same school district as the superintendent, the number returned was fewer, 48 percent. They were not necessarily from the same school districts as the superintendents, although there were many school districts where both

TABLE B8

DISTRIBUTION OF RETURNS TO PRINCIPALS' QUESTIONNAIRES BY SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

Size of School District	Number	Percent
Over 25,000	7	5.2
10,000-24,999	9	6.7
5,000-9,999	22	16.4
2,500-4,999	30	24.7
1,000-2,499	33	24.7
300-999	30	22.3
TOTAL	131	100.0

superintendent and principal responded. The distribution of response by size of school district as shown in Table B8 (preceding page) are not significantly different from the size of those school districts for superintendents.

Two out of every three principals who responded to our questionnaire were from school districts which voluntarily desegregated. Eighteen of the questionnaires from principals failed to answer the year desegregation took place. For those responding, 62.9 percent desegregated in the post-'64 Civil Rights Act period, 19 percent in the 1954-63 period and 19 percent in the years 1970-1971. No responses were received which indicated desegregation after 1971.

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE TO DESEGREGATION

The first questions asked both superintendents and principals concerned an evaluation of their experience with desegregation. Specifically, "Would you say that the process of desegregation proceeded with no interruption to the educational process; minimum interruption to the educational process; or was very disruptive to the education process." The percentage distribution of their response is given below.

Superintendents		Principals
30%	No Interruption	26%
54%	Minimum Interruption	58%
10%	Very Disruptive	11%
6%	No Response	5%

What both superintendents and principals are saying is that the process went well at both the school level and the system level. Only one out of ten school systems reported the process as educationally disruptive. Equally impressive is the fact that only one out of ten principals felt that the desegregation process was educationally disruptive to his individual school. The consistency of responses between the superintendents and principals is such in all the questions that only the superintendents' responses will be presented. Table B9 (page 46) presents the responses of superintendents to Question 1 controlling for time period desegregated, type of desegregation and size of school district.

The time period in which the school district began desegregation was a factor in how the educational process proceeded. The earlier the school district had been desegregated, the less chance there was of disruptive behavior. One interpretation of this is that the longer the school district delayed, the greater the public resistance was to the process.

Disruptive behavior and/or other forms of public resistance to desegregation is found more frequently where the school district is under

TABLE B9

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF SUPERINTENDENTS TO QUESTION 1, CONTROLLING FOR TIME PERIOD DESEGREGATED, TYPE OF DESEGREGATION, AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

Question 1: Would you say that the process of desegregation proceeded with:	Time Period Desegregated					
	1954-1963		1964-1969		1970-1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No interruption to the educational process	14	48.3	32	32.3	0	0.0
Minimum interruption to the educational process	13	44.8	58	58.6	14	73.7
Very disruptive to the educational process	2	6.9	9	9.1	5	26.3
TOTAL	29	100.0	99	100.0	19	100.0

Question 1: Would you say that the process of desegregation proceeded with:	Type of Desegregation					
	Voluntary		Court Order		Fed. Dir.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No interruption to the educational process	44	50.6	3	5.6	4	19.0
Minimum interruption to the educational process	40	46.0	38	70.4	15	71.4
Very disruptive to the educational process	3	3.4	13	24.1	2	9.5
TOTAL	87	100.0	54	100.0	21	100.0

Question 1: Would you say that the process of desegregation proceeded with:	Size of School District											
	Over 25,000		24,999 10,000		9,999 5,000		4,999 2,500		2,499 1,000		999 300	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No interruption to the educational process	0	0	4	28.6	10	37.0	11	35.5	29	60.4	28	77.8
Minimum interruption to the educational process	5	83.3	7	50.0	12	44.4	17	54.8	14	29.2	2	5.6
Very disruptive to the educational process	1	16.7	3	21.4	5	18.5	3	9.7	5	10.4	6	16.7
TOTAL	6	100.0	14	100.0	27	100.0	31	100.0	48	100.0	36	100.0

court order to desegregate. Behavior very disruptive to the educational process was reported in one out of four court order districts.

Contrary to what has been assumed, disruptive behavior was not associated with a particular size school district. Of the districts between 300 and 999 pupil enrollment, 16.7 percent reported disruptive behavior. The largest school districts, over 25,000 enrollment, reported disruptive behavior in 16.7 percent of the districts.

COMMUNITY REACTION TO DESEGREGATION

One reaction to desegregation in the South initially resulted in the withdrawal of some white school age children from the public school system to private schools, many of which were established solely for the purpose of avoiding desegregation. More recently there has been much discussion of "white flight" from urban areas to escape public school desegregation. Both superintendents and principals were asked the question, "Would you say that the desegregation of your school or school district has resulted in (1) withdrawal of a large number of white students from your school district, (2) white flight of families outside the school district or (3) no noticeable difference in enrollment of white students. The percentage of their response are given as follows:

Superintendents		Principals
15%	Withdrawal of a large number of white students	8%
3%	White flight of families outside the school district	4%
76%	No noticeable difference in enrollment of white students	83%
6%	No response	5%

In over three-quarters of the school districts and four-fifths of the schools, the superintendents and principals saw no noticeable difference in enrollment patterns of white students. There is some indication of movement into private schools as seen by the 15 percent of superintendents who reported withdrawal of a large number of white students from the school district and to a lesser extent the eight percent of principals reporting withdrawal from the school. Thus despite the publicity given to the move toward private schools, our findings show that statistically, the later school desegregation came, the higher the proportion of school districts reporting either withdrawal of a large number of white students from the public schools or white flight of families outside the school district. The more recent period, 1970-1971, has the highest proportion. The increased proportion of school districts reporting withdrawal of large

TABLE B10

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF SUPERINTENDENTS TO QUESTION 2, CONTROLLING FOR TIME PERIOD DESEGREGATED, TYPE OF DESEGREGATION, AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

Question 2: Would you say that desegregation of your school district has resulted in:	Time Period Desegregated					
	1954-1963		1964-1969		1970-1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Withdrawal of a large number of white students from your school district	3	10.0	13	13.1	7	38.9
White flight of families outside of the school district	0	0.0	3	3.0	2	11.1
No noticeable difference in enrollment of white students	27	90.0	83	83.8	9	50.0
TOTAL	30	100.0	99	100.0	18	100.0

Question 2: Would you say that desegregation of your school district has resulted in:	Type of Desegregation					
	Voluntary		Court Order		Fed. Dir.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Withdrawal of a large number of white students from your school district	5	5.7	17	31.5	4	19.0
White flight of families outside of the school district	0	0.0	6	11.1	0	0.0
No noticeable difference in enrollment of white students	82	94.3	31	57.4	17	81.0
TOTAL	87	100.0	54	100.0	21	100.0

Question 2: Would you say that desegregation of your school district has resulted in:	Size of School District											
	Over 25,000		24,999 10,000		9,999 5,000		4,999 2,500		2,499 1,000		999 300	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Withdrawal of a large number of white students from the school district	2	33.3	3	21.4	3	11.1	8	25.8	7	14.3	3	8.3
White flight of families outside the school district	1	16.7	1	7.1	0	0.0	1	3.2	1	2.0	2	5.6
No noticeable difference of enrollment of white students	3	50.0	10	71.4	24	88.9	22	71.0	41	83.7	31	86.1
TOTAL	6	100.0	14	100.0	27	100.0	31	100.0	49	100.0	36	100.0

numbers of white students in the post-Civil Rights Act period and into the 1970-1971 period corresponds to the increase in the number of private schools, many of them properly labeled "segregation academies," available as one alternative to the public school system.

In our sample white flight of families outside the school district occurred only in the districts where desegregation was initiated by court order. The pattern is consistent in that extreme responses to this question are more frequently found in school districts where resistance to desegregation has resulted in long delays and litigation results.

There is no consistent pattern to the responses concerning withdrawal and white flight by size of school district although the highest proportion by size are found in the largest category. Of responses from the largest school districts (those over 25,000) 50 percent report their districts as either experiencing white flight or white withdrawal with the latter being twice as prevalent as the former. This suggests that large urban areas are more subject to this type of reaction than are the smaller districts.

QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND DESEGREGATION

One of the persistent criticisms of desegregation is that it lowers the quality of education. In our questionnaire we ask the superintendents and principals to respond to the question, "In your opinion is the overall quality of education now being received as compared with five years ago, (1) better, (2) same, or (3) worse."

Superintendents		Principals
48%	Better	36%
37%	Same	35%
10%	Worse	23%
6%	No Response	6%

As contrasted to the relative consistency of response between the superintendents and principals, the responses here show differences of opinion. A larger proportion of principals feel that the quality of education is worse now than five years ago. But in spite of this difference, 85 percent of the superintendents and 71 percent of the principals feel that education is the same or better. The interesting and unexpected figure is that 48 percent of the superintendents and 36 percent of the principals feel that the quality of education is better now than five years ago.

This question is a little different from the others since it asks

for a comparison in the last five years. For those school districts desegregated over five years the comparison reflects an improvement since the district was desegregated. For the time period 1970-1971, the comparison could reflect a comparison of before and after desegregation. This might be the explanation for the high proportion of superintendents in school districts desegregated in 1970-1971 who said the quality of education was worse. Yet this period, 1970-1971, also had the highest proportion indicating that the quality of education was better. In general, the shorter time the school district was desegregated, the higher the proportion of superintendents who felt the quality of education was worse than it was five years ago. As seen by Table B11 neither of the other two controls, type of desegregation or size of school district, provided any additional insight into the response of superintendents to this question.[2]

TABLE B11

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF SUPERINTENDENTS TO QUESTION 3, CONTROLLING FOR TIME PERIOD DESEGREGATED, TYPE OF DESEGREGATION, AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

Question 3: In your opinion, is the overall quality of education now being received as compared with five years ago:

	Time Period Desegregated					
	1954-1963		1964-1969		1970-1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better	16	53.3	48	49.5	11	57.9
Same	13	43.3	41	42.3	3	15.8
Worse	1	3.4	8	8.2	5	26.3
TOTAL	30	100.0	97	100.0	19	100.0

Question 3: In your opinion, is the overall quality of education now being received as compared with five years ago:

	Type of Desegregation					
	Voluntary		Court Order		Fed. Dir.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better	46	54.1	24	44.4	7	43.8
Same	33	38.8	23	42.6	6	37.5
Worse	6	7.1	7	13.0	3	18.8
TOTAL	85	100.0	54	100.0	16	100.0

Question 3: In your opinion, is the overall quality of education now being received as compared with five years ago:

	Size of School District											
	Over 25,000		24,999 10,000		9,999 5,000		4,999 2,500		2,499 1,000		999 300	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Better	3	42.9	9	64.3	12	44.4	19	63.3	23	48.9	16	43.2
Same	4	57.1	3	21.4	10	37.0	11	36.7	17	36.2	18	48.6
Worse	0	0.0	2	14.3	5	18.5	0	0.0	7	14.9	3	8.1
TOTAL	7	100.0	14	100.0	27	100.0	30	100.0	47	100.0	37	100.0

LONG RUN EFFECT ON COMMUNITY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The final question asked the superintendents and principals was, "In your opinion, in the long run, will desegregation of your schools have an effect on the community, (1) a positive advantage to the community, (2) no change in the community or (3) negative or disadvantage to the community." Their response was as follows:

Superintendents		Principals
36%	Positive advantage	40%
47%	No change	43%
10%	Negative or disadvantage	11%
7%	No response	6%

The most frequent response to this question by both superintendents and principals was that there was no long run change in the community. The responses of the principals were slightly more favorable in projecting long run positive results than were those of the superintendents. But again, the opinions of both reflect an overwhelming agreement (83 percent) that the long run effect will not harm the community. Only 10 percent of superintendents and 11 percent of principals foresee any negative effects or disadvantage to the community.

The time the school district desegregated influences the opinions of the superintendents. The proportion who saw a positive advantage to the community increased as length desegregation time decreased. This was also true for the proportion of superintendents who felt there might be a long run negative effect or disadvantage to the community. Sixty-nine percent of the superintendents who were in school districts which had been desegregated during the period 1954-1963 felt that there would be no change. In the period 1964-1969, 50.5 percent felt there would be no change but in the more recent period, 1970-1971, only 11 percent felt there would be no change. What is suggested here is that the more recent the experience with desegregation the more the superintendent feels that some change will occur, and in all cases the positive change is cited more frequently than the negative. But in the long run as desegregation becomes a part of the community pattern, the response most often is that there will be no change. (See Table B12, page 52).

Those superintendents from school districts which voluntarily desegregated were almost unanimous in stating either positive effects or no change in the community (94.3 percent). But one out of five superintendents who had either undergone court ordered or federally directed desegregation felt that the long run effects on the community would be negative or a disadvantage to the community.

TABLE B12

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF SUPERINTENDENTS TO QUESTION 4, CONTROLLING FOR TIME PERIOD DESEGREGATED, TYPE OF DESEGREGATION, AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

Question 4: In your opinion, in the long run, will desegregation of your school district have an effect on the community:

	Time Period Desegregated					
	1954-1963		1964-1969		1970-1971	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Positive advantage to the community	7	24.1	39	40.2	12	66.7
No change in the community	20	69.0	49	50.5	2	11.1
Negative effect or disadvantage to the community	2	6.9	9	9.3	4	22.2
TOTAL	29	100.0	97	100.0	18	100.0

Question 4: In your opinion, in the long run, will desegregation of your school district have an effect on the community:

	Type of Desegregation					
	Voluntary		Court Order		Fed. Dir.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Positive advantage to the community	32	36.8	22	44.0	4	25.0
No change in the community	50	57.5	18	36.0	9	56.3
Negative effect or disadvantage to the community	5	5.7	10	20.0	3	18.8
TOTAL	87	100.0	50	100.0	16	100.0

Question 4: In your opinion, in the long run, will desegregation of your school district have an effect on the community:

	Size of School District											
	Over 25,000		24,999 10,000		9,999 5,000		4,999 2,500		2,499 1,000		999 300	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Positive advantage to the community	3	42.9	5	41.7	9	34.6	13	43.3	21	43.8	11	29.7
No change in the community	1	14.3	6	50.0	15	57.7	13	43.3	21	43.8	24	64.9
Negative effect or disadvantage to the community	3	42.9	1	8.3	2	7.7	4	13.3	6	12.5	2	5.4
TOTAL	7	100.0	12	100.0	26	100.0	30	100.0	48	100.0	37	100.0

The size of school district did not explain responses to the question of long term community impact except in the case of school districts of 25,000 enrollment. The combination of size and the fact that 86 percent of these large school districts were either court ordered or federally directed to desegregate could account for the high proportion of superintendents from large school districts feeling that the long run effects would be negative.

CHANGES IN ENROLLMENT AND STAFFING PATTERNS, 1970-1975

The last series of questions asked the superintendents was to estimate the percent of enrollment that was black in 1970 and 1975. The distribution of school districts by percent black enrollment for both periods is presented in Table B13. There are some shifts as indicated in the percentage of school districts in each category. In a one to one count it was found that 119 superintendents reported no change in percent

TABLE B13

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS BY ESTIMATED PERCENT OF ENROLLMENT THAT WAS BLACK, 1970 AND 1975

Percent Enrollment Black	Number of School Districts			
	1970		1975	
	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 9	53	32.3	56	34.2
10 - 19	31	18.9	26	15.9
20 - 29	22	13.4	26	15.9
30 - 39	17	10.3	13	7.9
40 - 49	15	9.7	12	7.3
50 - 59	8	5.1	10	6.1
60 - 69	8	5.1	7	4.5
70 - 79	7	4.5	8	5.1
80 - 89	2	1.2	3	1.9
90 - 99	0	0.0	2	1.2
TOTAL	163	100.0	163	100.0

of enrollment that was black between 1970 and 1975, 25 reported a decrease and 19 reported an increase in black enrollment. In both years, 1970 and 1975, fifty percent of the school districts reported less than 20 percent of their enrollment black. In 1970, 15 percent reported over 50 percent of enrollment black and in 1975, 19 percent reported over 50 percent.

The superintendents were also asked to estimate the percent of their professional staff who were black for each of the two years. Table B14 (page 54) gives the distribution. It is difficult to pick-up the shifts but a one-to-one count indicated that 135 school districts reported no change, 12 had increased the black professional staff, and 16 school districts had decreased the black professional staff. Nine percent of the

TABLE B14

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS BY ESTIMATED PERCENT OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF WHO WERE BLACK, 1970-1975

Percent Professional Staff, Black	Number of School Districts 1970		1975	
	Number	%	Number	%
0 - 9	74	45.1	73	44.5
10 - 19	26	15.9	29	17.6
20 - 29	24	14.6	23	14.0
30 - 39	11	6.7	11	6.7
40 - 49	14	8.6	14	8.6
50 - 59	11	6.7	9	5.4
60 - 69	1	.8	2	1.6
70 - 79	1	.8	1	.8
80 - 89	1	.8	1	.8
TOTAL	163	100.0	163	100.0

school districts reported over 50 percent of the professional staff were black in 1970 and 8.6 percent reported this in 1975. It is true that most of these schools had been desegregated for a number of years before 1970 and that many of the immediate shifts in response to desegregation had already taken place.

The superintendents were asked to estimate the number of biracial schools in each of these two periods. Biracial schools were defined as those schools having a white-black ratio within 15 percentage points either way of the system wide average. In 1970, 75 school districts reported no biracial schools. In 1975, this had been reduced to 64 school districts. (See Table B15, page 55.)

Since 18 of our districts were all white, this leaves only 46 such racially imbalanced districts in 1975. On a one-to-one count, 149 school districts had the same number of biracial schools for both periods, 18 had increased the number of biracial schools, and 5 school districts had decreased the number of biracial schools.

The principals were asked similar questions relating to their schools. The distribution of percent of enrollment that was black is similar to that of the school district and it is very difficult to see the shifts between the two time periods. On a one-to-one count, 100 principals reported that their school had not increased the percent of enrollment that was black from 1970-1975, 24 principals reported increases and

TABLE B15

DISTRIBUTION OF BIRACIAL SCHOOLS, 1970-1975, BY SCHOOL DISTRICTS

	School District			
	1970		1975	
	Number	%	Number	%
None	75	44.0	64	37.0
1 - 5	45	26.0	53	32.0
6 - 10	27	16.0	25	14.0
11 - 15	8	5.0	8	6.0
16 - 20	8	5.0	10	7.0
21 - 25	3	2.0	2	2.0
Over 30	6	5.0	10	10.0
TOTAL	172	100.0	172	100.0

15 reported decreases. The report of percent of professional staff that was black in the principals' schools indicates that 102 schools have remained the same during the five year period; 29 principals report percentage increases in black professional staff, and 8 reported a decrease.

SUMMARY

This cross-sectional look at the South's experience with the process of desegregation has resulted in several broad conclusions. The nation and the South are basically an aggregate of small school districts with 95% being less than 25,000. The majority of the school districts in the sample desegregated in the period 1964-1969. Also, the majority of the school districts desegregated voluntarily. According to the responses of the superintendents and principals, initial desegregation had occurred in all surveyed districts by 1971.

This process is proceeding well if one can judge by the responses of the superintendents and principals to the four questions asked them. There is amazing consistency in the responses of superintendents at the school district level and the principals at the operating level as to their perception of how the process is going. In only one area, quality of education, were there marked differences between the responses of superintendents and principals. The principals were more critical than were the superintendents.

There was little negative assessment of the process of desegregation by either the superintendents or principals, as expressed in the four opinion questions. In an attempt to further understand this process, the

questions were analyzed by date the school district desegregated, the type of desegregation, and the size of the school district. The few negative responses or experiences with the desegregation process could be identified with districts which had participated in court ordered desegregation. School districts which had most recently desegregated were characterized by uncertainty in terms of positive or negative change. In general, if school districts have had more experience with the desegregation process, the responses of both superintendents and principals are more favorable on the questions of educational quality, disruptive behavior, and enrollment of white students.

If the Southern experience has any meaning, it is that the apprehension and concerns in the initial stage of desegregation tend to be resolved through time, with little negative effects or disadvantages to the community or to education. It would be a travesty on the efforts and struggles of the Southern states for the nation's so-called "reappraisals" of busing and desegregation of the 70's to negate the progress Southern schools have made.

FOOTNOTES

1. The response of school principals when controlled for size of school district is consistent with responses of superintendents except in districts over 25,000 enrollment. Here 57.1 percent of the principals reported disruptive behavior.

2. In addition to a higher proportion of the principals defining educational quality as worse now than five years ago, 70 percent of those principals from school districts over 25,000 reported quality of education as worse now than five years ago.

(APPENDIX FOLLOWS PAGE 66.)

WHITE FLIGHT, SCHOOL SEGREGATION & DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

by David Sly and Louis Pol

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Several researchers in recent years have shown concern over the extent to which school desegregation has caused "white flight" (Clotfelter, 1974; Giles, et al., 1974;Farley, 1975; Rosell, 1975; and Coleman, et al., 1975). While a variety of methodologies and different data sets have been used to investigate this question no researcher has specifically looked at the extent to which the migration of whites from central cities to suburbs is caused by school desegregation. Indeed, many researchers have assumed that the changing percent of students in central cities who are white is solely, or at least primarily, a product of "white flight." Because this percent has declined dramatically in recent years as desegregation efforts have increased, it has become common to assume the reason is that whites are fleeing desegregation or the threat of desegregation. This assumption is evident in the recent discussion by Coleman, et. al. (1975:2) when, after indicating that government policy does not always achieve desired effects, they claim, "The most obvious such individual action, of course, is a move of residence to flee integration." Similarly, at later points the authors imply the effect of school desegregation when they assert, "Desegregation in central cities hastens this process of residential segregation (between cities and suburbs)..." (1975:76); and again when they conclude (1975:78), "In the large cities (among the largest 22 central city school districts) there is a sizeable loss of whites when desegregation takes place."

In this paper two tests of the hypothesis that school desegregation leads to "white flight" are offered. In the first test data are presented which allow an examination of the volume of whites moving from central cities to metropolitan areas for the two periods 1955-1960 and 1965-1970. If white flight is a generalized response to desegregation and/or the threat of desegregation, the rate of white mobility from city to suburb can be expected to rise between these two periods in a majority of the areas examined. In the second test, rates of white migration from central city to suburbs are correlated with school segregation indices to test the assumption that areas having higher levels of segregation also have lower rates of migration.

The areas selected for study are the 22 standard metropolitan statistical areas focused upon by Coleman, et. al. (1975:23). These areas were selected because of their size.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND WHITE FLIGHT

Proponents of the school desegregation-white-flight hypothesis argue that school desegregation, and the threat of school desegregation, lead to the mass exodus of whites from the central cities of metropolitan areas to their suburban rings. They have not measured white flight with data on the migration of whites from central cities to the rings of metropolitan areas, but rather with the changing proportions of whites in cen-

tral city schools and most frequently central city public schools. To support their hypothesis, they argue, one should expect to find that in recent years there have been substantial reductions in the percent of white central city public school students. The data presented in Table C1 shows that there have, indeed, been substantial declines in both the relative and absolute number of white students in central city public schools. For instance, from 1968 through 1972 the absolute number of white central city public school students declined in all but two of the cities studied and

TABLE C1

NUMBER OF TOTAL AND WHITE STUDENTS IN CENTRAL CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1968 AND 1972[1]

Central City	1968			1972			Percent Change	
	Total	White	Percent White	Total	White	Percent White	Total	White
New York	1,063,787	467,365	43.9	1,125,449	400,495	35.6	5.8	-14.3
Los Angeles	653,549	350,909	53.7	620,659	293,303	47.3	-5.0	-19.6
Chicago	582,274	219,478	37.7	553,342	170,373	30.8	-5.0	-22.4
Philadelphia	282,617	109,512	38.7	282,941	99,537	35.2	.1	- 9.1
Baltimore	192,171	66,997	34.9	186,600	57,350	30.7	-2.9	-14.1
Houston	246,098	131,098	53.3	225,410	98,282	43.6	-8.4	-25.0
Dallas	159,924	97,888	61.2	154,581	78,214	50.6	-3.3	-20.1
Detroit	296,097	116,250	39.3	276,547	84,392	30.5	-6.6	-27.4
Cleveland	155,829	66,102	42.4	145,196	58,189	40.1	-6.8	-12.0
Columbus	110,699	81,655	73.8	106,588	74,852	70.2	-3.7	- 8.3
Memphis	125,813	58,271	46.3	138,714	58,309	42.0	10.2	.1
Washington	148,725	8,329	5.6	139,893	4,896	3.5	-5.9	-41.2
St. Louis	115,557	41,810	36.2	105,592	32,630	30.9	-8.6	-22.0
Tampa	100,895	74,629	73.9	107,540	80,136	74.5	6.5	7.4
San Diego	128,817	98,079	76.1	124,391	91,657	73.7	-3.4	- 6.5
New Orleans	110,783	34,673	31.3	103,839	24,535	23.6	-6.3	-29.2
Milwaukee	130,445	95,161	72.9	127,810	84,265	65.9	-2.0	-11.4
Atlanta	111,227	42,506	38.2	96,006	21,683	22.6	-13.7	-49.0
Boston	94,174	64,500	68.5	96,239	57,405	59.6	2.2	-11.0
Denver	96,577	63,398	65.6	91,616	53,420	58.6	-5.1	-15.7
Indianapolis	108,587	72,010	66.3	98,076	59,079	60.2	-9.7	-18.0
San Francisco	83,111	58,623	41.2	79,813	53,629	31.8	-4.0	- 8.5

[1]Coleman, et al., 1975:97. Appendix 3 contains the basic data from which we calculated the percentages and the percent change figures. Appendix 3 does not contain the basic data for Washington, but these were obtained from The Urban Institute.

only in one (Tampa) was the increase greater than seven percent. Among the 20 cities where reductions did occur, declines tended to be substantially more dramatic; in nine they exceeded 20 percent and only in four were they less than ten percent.

Data in Table C1 also document that there was a marked tendency during this period for the relative number of white central city public school students to decline. Indeed, in all cities except Tampa the percent of white students in central city public schools was lower in 1972 than 1968; in seven of these cities the decline during this period exceeded eight percentage points and in only five cities was the decline less than four percentage points. In short, these data clearly document a sharp decline in the percent of white students in central city public schools; however, it is equally important to note that these data do not document the existence of "white flight" nor do they measure its magnitude.

Direct data that measure the city to suburban migration of whites for the corresponding periods are not available; similarly, data on the reasons for migration from central cities to suburbs are not available for this period. The latter type of data would be particularly important even if the former were available, since a measure of volume at a single point in time would tell us nothing about why whites are fleeing central cities. Since a data set was not available which would allow a direct test of the "white flight" hypothesis, we decided to make a more indirect test of the hypothesis by comparing the absolute and relative flows of white migration from central cities to suburbs during two periods of time. The time periods selected have been determined by the availability of census data, but there is sufficient overlap with 1968-1972 period to justify their use. More specifically, Table C2 (page 61) contains data showing the migration of whites from central cities to suburbs during the periods 1955-1960 and 1965-1970. If school desegregation leads to white flight, we should expect an increase in the migration of whites from central cities to suburbs during the later period. This assumption is predicated upon the fact that during the earlier of these periods, despite the 1954 court ruling, little effort was made to desegregate schools; however, by the later period escalated activism by civil rights advocates and additional court rulings clearly dictated desegregation. Even though there have been substantial differences in the time at which desegregation began in these cities (in some efforts have still been minimal) it is clear that by the later period the "threat" of desegregation was present (U.S. Civil Rights Commission, 1975). In short, even though this is not an ideal test of the "white flight" hypothesis, it comes closer through the nature of the data employed to testing the hypothesis than do data on changing proportions of students.

The data in Table C2 cast considerable doubt on the validity of the white flight hypothesis. In sixteen of the twenty-two cities examined, the absolute number of white central city to ring migrants declined from the earlier to the later period; moreover, with the exception of Columbus (a college town) each of the remaining cities (Houston, Dallas, Tampa, New Orleans, and Atlanta) which had an increase in the absolute number of

TABLE C2

MOBILITY OF THE WHITE POPULATION WITHIN AND FROM CENTRAL CITIES OF METROPOLITAN AREAS: 1955-1960 AND 1965-1970[1]

Metropolitan Area	1955-1960						1965-1970					
	Central City Total Population	Mover From Central City to Ring	Mover Within Central City	Nonmover In Central City	Central City to Ring Rate	Within Central City Rate	Central City Total Population	Mover From Central City to Ring	Mover Within Central City	Nonmover In Central City	Central City to Ring Rate	Within Central City Rate
New York	6,096,074	410,924	1,939,911	3,608,372	.065	.306	5,789,818	328,542	1,527,535	3,488,989	.055	.257
Los Angeles	2,172,459	348,719	665,339	866,423	.173	.330	2,456,193	278,572	617,747	1,103,415	.120	.267
Chicago	2,462,632	355,530	909,515	1,252,557	.134	.343	2,101,633	290,418	589,141	1,158,664	.127	.258
Philadelphia	1,337,834	167,497	376,033	851,502	.116	.261	1,202,034	125,921	257,782	783,768	.099	.203
Detroit	1,079,253	260,186	304,847	664,698	.210	.246	790,310	192,873	166,884	556,760	.206	.178
Houston	632,967	32,475	206,713	266,371	.062	.393	879,617	96,000	219,659	364,165	.127	.290
Baltimore	555,579	106,176	165,037	328,612	.175	.273	453,215	84,509	97,311	274,175	.167	.192
Dallas	509,380	39,474	176,755	194,163	.093	.418	582,623	58,141	146,450	240,570	.106	.268
Cleveland	558,709	142,609	173,929	293,909	.229	.279	423,447	95,109	100,611	239,295	.194	.205
Washington	324,067	88,170	86,320	134,720	.219	.215	211,071	48,199	29,655	91,572	.180	.111
Memphis	279,786	17,461	91,403	126,195	.070	.365	352,941	12,460	88,852	169,258	.039	.280
Milwaukee	601,386	72,041	207,657	214,995	.125	.359	564,142	65,555	143,041	296,906	.112	.245
San Diego	471,815	47,144	126,432	129,687	.125	.334	592,383	41,775	114,210	211,555	.079	.215
Columbus	346,407	34,277	124,154	133,022	.108	.393	401,089	49,377	100,359	175,567	.132	.269
Tampa	354,660	23,992	78,704	145,072	.068	.221	384,751	37,926	67,367	191,751	.103	.182
St. Louis	484,559	130,076	177,426	239,020	.232	.316	344,705	72,953	82,919	74,261	.176	.200
New Orleans	355,887	33,096	117,052	180,054	.094	.332	303,906	45,808	70,260	162,971	.139	.213
Indianapolis	334,301	43,626	111,628	154,770	.132	.338	556,894	28,638	136,329	272,613	.064	.306
Boston	572,994	80,631	179,157	301,379	.127	.283	500,349	59,034	108,928	262,652	.110	.203
Atlanta	273,715	51,335	80,443	119,463	.221	.347	226,397	63,756	49,641	99,152	.255	.199
Denver	410,674	55,552	124,847	174,768	.144	.324	429,839	52,890	103,926	191,402	.126	.247
San Francisco	813,571	124,379	238,115	381,049	.139	.265	808,884	96,596	175,230	391,578	.119	.216

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1963a: Table 4; and 1973: Table 15.

migrants during the later period was located in a Southern metropolitan area. The expansion and development of these metropolitan areas is generally recognized to be behind the development of older metropolitan areas in the rest of the country (Kasarda,1976). Changes in the absolute number of central city to noncentral city migrants, however, could merely reflect diminution of the white central city population size while the continually increasing number of white migrants from the central cities to the rings in the South could merely reflect the stage of the metropolitanization process which these cities find themselves in.

Rates of migration are presented in columns 5 and 11 of Table C2, and these show that the rate of migration from central cities to rings was actually lower for the period 1965-1970 among whites in 16 of the 22 areas than it was during the period 1955-1960. That is, suburbanization was far more prevalent during the 1950s than during the 1960s. Interestingly enough, in all 22 cities the rate of within city movement among whites was lower during the later than the early period. Since the later period was the era of school desegregation it could well be that desegregation has lent some stability to residential patterns in cities.

More important, however, for explaining why the proportion of white students in central city schools has declined is an assessment of the effects of the migration of whites from cities to suburbs coupled with the historical patterns of young black people moving from rural areas to central cities. The most important factor to consider in this respect is what has been the effect of these counter migrations on the age composition of the black and white female populations. In particular has the reproductive potential of the black and white populations changed? The best way that we can assess this is to look at the changes in the median age of black and white women in central cities through time. This can be done by looking at Table C3 (page 63). In general the black female population in central cities has become younger and the white female population in central cities has aged markedly. In 1950, with very few exceptions, white and black women had median ages within about a year or two of one another, but by 1970 the black and white median ages of females differed substantially -- 7 years or more is not uncommon. The average median age for black women in these 22 cities in 1950 was 29.4 and for white women it was 31.2; by 1970 the average median for black women declined to 23.8 while that for white women increased to 34.8. In short, over one half of the white women (on the average) in the central cities of these metropolitan areas has essentially already passed through their childbearing years. The average black woman, on the other hand, was at the peak age of her reproductivity. The last three columns in this table show the birth rates for whites and blacks in these central cities since 1950.

In short, the declining proportion of white children in central city schools is more the result of the historical pattern of whites moving to suburbs from central cities and blacks moving to central cities than it is the result of efforts to desegregate schools in recent years. The important points are that Coleman did not examine migration data; rather he chose to look at the proportion of white and black children in central

TABLE C3

MEDIAN AGE OF THE WHITE AND BLACK CENTRAL CITY FEMALE POPULATIONS AND CRUDE BIRTH RATES OF THE WHITE AND BLACK CENTRAL CITY POPULATIONS: 1950, 1960, AND 1970[1]

	Median Age						Crude Birth Rate					
	White			Black			White			Black		
Central City	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
New York	28.9	31.3	37.6	30.1	27.9	26.8	18.0	18.6	16.3	28.9	30.7	24.6
Los Angeles	33.2	33.1	33.4	31.1	27.7	25.6	19.8	20.1	17.6	27.1	33.1	23.9
Chicago	30.4	32.5	36.6	29.5	25.6	23.7	20.1	21.3	16.8	31.1	36.9	27.9
Philadelphia	30.6	33.9	37.9	29.3	28.2	26.5	18.7	19.5	15.2	28.2	29.9	23.1
Detroit	27.8	31.8	39.7	28.8	26.3	24.3	23.3	19.0	16.9	31.7	27.8	26.4
Houston	28.8	28.1	27.8	28.2	24.8	23.0	28.9	18.5	20.8	34.6	30.1	26.4
Baltimore	31.5	35.0	39.4	28.2	24.9	23.7	19.0	19.8	14.3	30.4	34.3	22.1
Dallas	31.2	31.1	30.4	30.2	25.2	22.3	25.9	24.0	20.0	28.1	38.5	28.4
Cleveland	28.9	29.8	33.7	28.8	26.6	25.1	22.3	23.0	19.0	30.1	30.3	24.2
Washington	34.7	42.4	45.7	29.8	27.6	25.6	21.4	17.9	9.8	30.7	32.7	24.1
Memphis	30.2	30.7	29.3	29.2	25.5	22.7	21.6	21.8	17.3	30.6	34.0	26.9
Milwaukee	30.6	29.9	32.0	26.8	20.6	19.7	17.4	25.3	17.7	38.0	43.3	29.8
San Diego	31.1	29.4	29.4	28.8	22.5	21.6	25.3	24.4	36.0	36.4	40.2	33.9
Columbus	31.8	29.0	26.9	30.7	26.2	24.2	23.2	26.7	21.9	26.2	32.4	26.2
Tampa	31.7	32.7	36.0	31.0	26.4	24.2	29.9	35.4	21.1	35.4	29.7	32.7
St. Louis	34.1	37.6	44.0	30.6	37.0	24.6	22.0	22.3	16.7	30.1	34.9	25.3
New Orleans	32.5	34.6	37.9	28.5	25.5	23.5	22.3	21.4	15.1	33.6	33.7	24.4
Indianapolis	32.6	32.0	29.1	30.7	27.3	24.2	23.8	27.8	16.1	28.4	35.4	24.8
Boston	28.2	30.1	32.2	29.1	25.7	19.6	19.9	21.1	16.1	28.3	36.2	24.7
Atlanta	32.3	33.8	35.4	30.1	26.7	24.4	18.7	21.1	17.4	51.4	31.2	25.5
Denver	31.8	31.8	30.5	29.7	25.4	23.7	-	23.4	18.7	-	32.9	25.6
San Francisco	34.4	38.5	41.4	28.2	24.9	25.3	18.4	17.3	12.7	35.7	31.4	22.7

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1952: Table 53; 1963b: Table 20; 1970: Table 24; and U.S. National Center of Health Statistics, 1953: Table 13; 1963: Table 3-1; and 1975: Table 2-1.

city schools. With his ignorance of demographic phenomena he assumed that these proportions could only change as a result of white migrating from central cities. From here he took the liberty of assuming that the reason people left was because of busing, but he presents absolutely no data to back up this option. In many of the cities he examines busing was not really even an issue until after 1973, the last year for which he had data.

Correlation analyses examining the relation between migration and the levels of segregation which Coleman measured, show:

1. No relation between 1968 level of segregation and the rate

of white movement from central cities to rings during the period 1965-1970.

2. Strong relations between the level of white movement from central cities to rings for both the period 1955-1960 and 1965-1970 and 1973 level of segregation.

These observations strongly suggest that migration of whites to suburbs has brought about school segregation, but not that desegregation leads to white migration from the cities.

CONCLUSIONS

While there can be little doubt that the recent migration of whites from central cities is contributing to the patterns of school segregation in many cities, our data indicate that recent migration patterns are probably contributing much less to this phenomena than has been suggested by many previous researchers. *Our analysis indicates that the levels of school segregation in cities and changes in these as well as differences in these between cities are significantly influenced by the reproductive differentials of blacks and whites. Indeed, the simple correlation coefficients suggest that differences in segregation between cities are more closely related to birth rate differentials than they are to "white flight," and the comparison of the volume and rate of white city to ring migration during two periods of time indicates that in many of the cities examined there has actually been a decline in this phenomenon.*

Unfortunately our analysis, like that of all previous researchers, has contained no data on the reasons for white moves. It is possible that even though there has been a decline in the volume and rate of white city to ring migration, more whites are leaving cities to escape desegregation; if this is the case it is important to note that 1) it has not been established, and 2) that city to ring migration is usually done for a variety of reasons, not a single reason. *The migration data presented in this paper, however, do tend to suggest that if there is "white flight," its volume is not making whites flee cities any faster than they have in the past.* Finally, our analysis does show that to try to infer "white flight" from declining proportions of white public school students can grossly overstate the volume of this factor not just because it assumes that all whites move to escape school desegregation, but also because *it fails to take account of the substantial birth rate differential between whites and blacks in all cities.* The latter has been strongly influenced by migration but not merely by "white flight." In this sense it is important to take account of the historical patterns of white migration from central cities and black migration to central cities, and the effects which these counter movements have had in the composition of the respective central city populations. Our analysis indicates *a substantial aging of the white*

population in many cities and a concomitant decline in the age of all black central city populations. These changes are likely to insure a decreasing proportion of white students in central cities.

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APPENDICES

II

APPENDIX I

NAMES AND SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS SAMPLED*

Institute for Social Research, Florida State University Survey

*NOTE: *The following list of school district names and characteristics represents districts sent questionnaires, not districts returning questionnaires. Survey respondents were promised anonymity.*

ALABAMA

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Huntsville City	Huntsville, 35804	Madison	34,689	40
Tuscaloosa County	Tuscaloosa, 35401	Tuscaloosa	11,049	22
Chambers County	Lafayette, 36862	Chambers	5,392	16
Enterprise City	Enterprise, 36330	Coffee	5,043	11
Limestone County	Athens, 35611	Limestone	6,852	12
Talladega County	Talladega, 35160	Talladega	8,603	19
Clarke County	Grove Hill, 36451	Clarke	4,602	9
Fairfield City	Fairfield, 35064	Jefferson	2,834	5
Jasper City	Jasper, 35501	Walker	2,777	5
Opelika City	Opelika, 36801	Lee	4,180	8
Washington County	Chatom, 36518	Washington	4,173	10
Winston County	Double Spg, 35553	Winston	2,708	7
Dale County	Ozark, 36360	Dale	2,643	8
Andalusia City	Andalusia, 36420	Covington	2,381	4
Coosa County	Rockford, 35136	Coosa	2,438	6
Gunterville City	Gunterville, 35976	Marshall	2,384	4
Tallahassee City	Tallahassee, 36078	Elmore	1,552	4
Linden City	Linden, 36748	Marengo	945	3

ARKANSAS

Pulaski County Spec.	Little Rock, 72201	Pulaski	26,891	37
Fort Smith	Fort Smith, 72901	Sebastian	12,144	26
Hot Springs	Hot Springs, 71901	Garland	5,558	11
West Memphis	West Memphis, 72301	Crittenden	6,785	12
Cabot	Cabot, 72023	Lonoke	2,503	4
Harrison	Harrison, 72601	Boone	2,527	6
Marianna	Marianna, 72360	Lee	4,537	9
Stuttgart	Stuttgart, 72160	Arkansas	2,550	7
Alma	Alma, 72921	Crawford	1,523	2
Bald Knob	Bald Knob, 72010	White	1,392	2

ARKANSAS (Cont'd.)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Berryville	Berryville, 72616	Carroll	1,181	2
Cross County	Cherry Valley, 72347	Cross	1,018	4
DesArc	DesArc, 72040	Prairie	1,046	2
Dumas	Dumas, 71639	Desha	2,380	4
Fairview	Camden, 71701	Ouachita	1,972	2
Hamburg	Hamburg, 71646	Ashley	1,331	3
Lake Hamilton	Pearcy, 71964	Garland	1,742	2
Marked Tree	Marked Tree, 72365	Poinsett	1,358	2
Morrilton	Morrilton, 72110	Conway	2,337	4
Ozark	Ozark, 72949	Franklin	1,149	2
Waldron	Waldron, 72958	Scott	1,583	2
Bay-Brown	Bay, 72411	Craighead	676	2
Carlisle	Carlisle, 72024	Lonoke	844	2
Delta Special	Watson, 71674	Desha	838	4
Fauke	Fauke, 71837	Miller	636	2
Gravette	Gravette, 72736	Benton	883	4
Hazen	Hazen, 72064	Prairie	715	2
Hoxie	Hoxie, 72433	Lawrence	910	2
Leachville	Leachville, 72438	Mississippi	542	2
Mansfield	Mansfield, 72936	Sebastian	840	2
Norphlet	Norphlet, 71759	Union	600	2
Rector	Rector, 72461	Clay	757	2
Stephens	Stephens, 71764	Ouachita	614	2
Yellville Summit	Yellville, 72687	Marion	661	2
Bauxite	Bauxite, 72011	Saline	564	2
Caddo Hills	Caddo Gap, 71953	Montgomery	486	2
Charleston	Charleston, 72933	Franklin	592	2
Danville	Danville, 72833	Yell	510	2
Desha-Drew	Lillan, 71670	Desha	397	2
Flippin	Flippin, 72634	Marion	485	2
Greenland	Greenland, 72737	Washington	513	2
Hartman	Hartman, 72840	Johnson	331	2
Kirby	Kirby, 71950	Pike	415	2
Magazine	Magazine, 72943	Logan	426	2
McNeil	McNeil, 71752	Columbia	420	2
Norfolk	Norfolk, 72658	Baxter	360	2
Phillips County	Helena, 72342	Phillips	472	2
Prattsville	Prattsville, 72129	Grant	310	2
Shirley	Shirley, 72131	VanBuren	357	2
Swifton	Swifton, 72471	Jackson	323	2
Wheatley	Wheatley, 72392	St. Francis	457	2
	FLORIDA			
Dade County	Miami, 33132	Dade	241,174	235
Pinellas County	Clearwater, 33518	Pinellas	89,640	110
Lee County	Fort Myers, 33701	Lee	23,488	34
Putnam County	Palatka, 32077	Putnam	10,324	16
Citrus County	Inverness, 32650	Citrus	5,440	9

FLORIDA (Cont'd.)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Jackson County	Marianna, 32446	Jackson	7,992	11
Hernando County	Brooksville, 33512	Hernando	5,133	7
Washington County	Chipley, 32433	Washington	3,076	5
Glades County	Moore Haven, 33471	Glades	1,001	1
Union County	Lake Butler, 32054	Union	1,427	4
	GEORGIA			
Cobb County	Marietta, 30060	Cobb	46,649	57
Dougherty County	Albany, 31701	Dougherty	22,159	35
Cherokee County	Canton, 30114	Cherokee	7,939	13
Henry County	McDonough, 30253	Henry	6,283	12
Rockdale County	Conyers, 30207	Rockdale	5,749	7
Whitfield County	Dalton, 30720	Whitfield	9,571	15
Camden County	Woodbine, 31569	Camden	3,225	4
Dublin City	Dublin, 31021	Laurens	3,779	7
Franklin County	Carnesville, 30521	Franklin	3,090	6
Jeff Davis County	Hazlehurst, 31539	Jeff Davis	2,582	3
Meriwether County	Greenville, 30222	Meriwether	4,566	10
Tattnall County	Reidsville, 30453	Tattnall	3,314	6
Worth County	Sylvester, 31791	Worth	4,021	8
Brantley County	Nahunta, 31553	Brantley	1,715	3
Charlton County	Folkston, 31537	Charlton	1,897	4
Gilmer County	Ellijay, 30540	Gilmer	2,112	5
Jefferson City	Jefferson, 30549	Jackson	1,691	2
Marion County	Buena Vista, 31803	Marion	1,366	2
Pickens County	Jasper, 30143	Pickens	2,387	3
Talbot County	Talbotton, 31827	Talbot	1,495	4
Wheeler County	Alamo, 30411	Wheeler	1,242	3
Wilkinson County	Irwinton, 31042	Wilkinson	2,419	3
Baker County	Newton, 31770	Baker	856	2
Glascock County	Gibson, 30810	Glascock	526	1
	LOUISIANA			
Lafayette Parish	Lafayette, 70501	Lafayette	28,140	38
Bossier Parish	Benton, 71006	Bossier	17,987	27
St. Tammany Parish	Covington, 70433	St. Tammany	17,259	31
Bogalusa City 67	Bogalusa, 70427	Washington	5,194	10
Jefferson Davis Par.	Jennings, 70546	Jeff. Dav. Par.	7,590	15
St. Charles Parish	Luling, 70070	St. Charles Par.	8,548	16
Webster Parish	Minden, 71055	Webster Parish	9,974	24
E. Feliciana Parish	Clinton, 70722	E. Feliciana Par.	3,711	11
W. Carroll Parish	Oak Grove, 71263	W. Carroll Par.	3,566	9
Tensas Parish	Saint Joseph, 71366	Tensas Parish	2,363	7
				53

MISSISSIPPI

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Jackson Mun. Sep.	Jackson, 39205	Hinds	29,677	51
Greenville Mun. Sep.	Greenville, 38701	Washington	10,207	12
Jones County	Laurel, 39440	Jones	8,011	13
Tupelo, Mun. Sep.	Tupelo, 38801	Lee	5,339	10
Brookhaven Mun. Sep.	Brookhaven, 39601	Lincoln	3,536	6
Forrest County	Hattiesburg, 39401	Forrest	4,992	10
Jefferson Davis Co.	Prentiss, 39474	Jefferson Davis	3,187	4
Madison County	Canton, 39046	Madison	4,052	7
Oxford Mun. Sep.	Oxford, 38655	Lafayette	2,751	4
South Panola Cons.	Batesville, 38606	Panola	3,987	4
West Point Mun. Sep.	West Point, 39773	Clay	3,599	3
Bolivar County No. 2	Benoit, 38725	Bolivar	1,106	1
Coffeeville Cons.	Coffeeville, 38922	Yalobusha	1,282	2
Franklin County	Meadville, 39653	Franklin	1,762	3
Luka Sep. Mun.	Luka, 38852	Tishomingo	1,061	1
Monroe County	Aberdeen, 39730	Monroe	2,378	5
North Tippah Cons.	Walnut, 38683	Tippah	1,357	3
Pontotoc County	Pontotoc, 38863	Pontatoc	2,240	2
Water Valley Cons.	Water Valley, 38965	Yalobusha	1,471	1
Yazoo County	Yazoo City, 39194	Yazoo	2,326	7

NORTH CAROLINA

Gaston County	Gastonia, 28052	Gaston	32,540	56
Catawba County	Newton, 28658	Catawba	11,268	19
Iredell County	Statesville, 28677	Iredell	10,272	19
Rowan County	Salisbury, 28144	Rowan	13,825	25
Guilford County	Greensboro, 27402	Guilford	23,296	38
Bertie County	Windsor, 27983	Bertie	5,395	14
Cleveland County	Shelby, 28150	Cleveland	8,662	18
Greenville City	Greenville, 27834	Pitt	5,535	9
Lee County	Sanford, 27331	Lee	7,489	13
Northampton County	Jackson, 27845	Northampton	5,863	14
Wilkes County	Wilkesboro, 28697	Wilkes	9,442	18
Caswell County	Yanceyville, 27379	Caswell	4,831	13
Eden City	Eden, 27288	Rockingham	4,928	9
Lexington City	Lexington, 27292	Davidson	4,315	9
Montgomery County	Troy, 27371	Montgomery	4,462	10
Shelby City	Shelby, 28150	Cleveland	4,738	10
Washington County	Plymouth, 27962	Washington	3,688	7
Yancey County	Burnsville, 28714	Yancey	2,719	9
Camden County	Camden, 27921	Camden	1,470	3
Hendersonville City	Hendersonville, 28739	Henderson	1,871	4
Perquimans County	Hartford, 27944	Perquimans	2,013	4

SOUTH CAROLINA

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Charleston County	Charleston, 29403	Charleston	54,308	80
Pickens County	Pickens, 29671	Pickens	13,182	28
Chesterfield County	Ruby, 29741	Chesterfield	8,659	16
Lexington County 01	Lexington, 29072	Lexington	5,574	7
Spartanburg County 06	Fairforest, 29336	Spartanburg	6,999	17
Fairfield County	Winnsboro, 29180	Fairfield	4,784	10
York County	Clover, 29710	York	2,351	5
Anderson County 03	Iva, 29655	Anderson	2,200	4
Clarendon County 03	Tuberville, 29162	Clarendon	1,247	3
Greenwood County 52	Ninety Six, 29666	Greenwood	1,329	3
Saluda County 01	Saluda, 29138	Saluda	2,450	5
Burnwell County 29	Williston, 29853	Burnwell	996	3

TENNESSEE

Hamilton County	Chattanooga, 37402	Hamilton	30,199	53
Sullivan County	Blountville, 37617	Sullivan	18,512	40
Coche County	Newport, 37821	Coche	5,345	12
Hardeman County	Bolivar, 38008	Hardeman	5,493	9
Lawrence County	Lawrenceburg, 38464	Lawrence	6,663	20
Roane County	Kingston, 37748	Roane	6,524	18
Washington County	Jonesboro, 37659	Washington	9,392	16
Claiborne County	Tazewell, 37979	Claiborne	4,547	21
Grainger County	Rutledge, 37861	Grainger	3,007	6
Humboldt City	Humboldt, 38343	Gibson	2,809	5
Monroe County	Madisonville, 37354	Monroe	4,358	11
Smith County	Carthage, 37030	Smith	3,010	11
Clay County	Celina, 38551	Clay	1,621	6
Huntington City	Huntington, 38344	Carroll	1,424	3
McKenzie City	McKenzie, 38201	Carroll	1,477	3
Union County	Maynardville, 37807	Union	2,106	8
Crockett Mills City	Crockett Mills, 38201	Crockett	321	1
Moore County	Lynchburg, 37352	Moore	832	3

TEXAS

Fort Worth ISD	Fort Worth, 76107	Tarrant	80,089	116
Spring Branch ISD	Houston, 77024	Harris	39,333	34
Beaumont	Beaumont, 77704	Jefferson	13,452	22
Ector Co. ISD	Odessa, 79760	Ector	22,621	32
Killeen	Killeen, 76541	Bell	13,578	19
San Angelo ISD	San Angelo, 76901	Tom Green	14,523	27
Alice ISD	Alice, 78332	Jim Wells	6,439	11
Brazosport ISD	Freeport, 77541	Brazoria	9,966	16
Fort Bend ISD	Stafford, 77477	Fort Bend	7,378	6
Kingsville ISD	Kingsville, 78363	Kleberg	6,462	12
Sequin ISD	Sequin, 78155	Guadalupe	5,209	10
Vidor ISD	Vidor, 77662	Orange	5,636	5

TEXAS (Cont'd.)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
A & M Cons. ISD	College Station, 77840	Brazos	2,653	4
Borger ISD	Borger, 79007	Hutchinson	3,195	7
Copperas Cove ISD	Copperas Cove, 76522	Coryell	4,266	5
East Central ISD	San Antonio, 78220	Bexar	3,681	6
El Campo	El Campo, 77437	Wharton	3,892	5
Henderson ISD	Henderson, 75652	Rush	3,330	8
Highland Park ISD	Dallas, 75205	Dallas	4,727	6
Liberty-Eylau ISD	Texarkana, 75501	Bowie	2,846	6
Mansfield ISD	Mansfield, 76063	Tarrant	2,837	5
New Coney ISD	New Coney, 77357	Montgomery	3,120	5
Raymondville ISD	Raymondville, 78580	Willacy	2,835	6
Sulphur Springs ISD	Sulphur Springs, 75482	Hopkins	2,997	8
Wharton ISD	Wharton, 77488	Wharton	2,861	5
Abernathy ISD	Abernathy, 79311	Hale	1,119	3
Aransas Pass ISD	Aransas Pass, 78336	San Patricio	1,996	4
Bonham ISD	Bonham, 75418	Fannin	2,195	5
Brownsboro ISD	Brownsboro, 75756	Henderson	1,105	3
Carrizo Springs ISD	Carrizo Springs, 78834	Dimmit	2,250	6
Center ISD	Center, 75935	Shelby	2,119	4
Connally ISD	Waco, 76705	McLennon	2,063	5
Denver City	Denver City, 79323	Yoakum	1,596	4
East Chambers ISD	Winnie, 77665	Chambers	1,043	3
Edna ISD	Edna, 77957	Jackson	1,959	5
Georgetown	Georgetown, 78626	Williamson	2,112	4
Graham ISD	Graham, 76046	Young	2,034	5
Hays Cons. ISD	Kyle, 78640	Hays	1,626	5
Kenedy ISD	Kenedy, 78119	Karnes	1,247	4
Hitchcock ISD	Hitchcock, 77563	Galveston	1,949	4
Idalou	Idalou, 79329	Lubbock	1,013	3
Mexia ISD	Mexia, 76667	Limestone	1,879	4
Morton ISD	Morton, 79346	Cochran	1,071	4
Northwest ISD	Justin, 76247	Denton	1,155	6
Pleasanton ISD	Pleasanton, 78064	Alascosta	2,095	5
Rockdale ISD	Rockdale, 76567	Milam	1,607	3
Sealy ISD	Sealy, 77474	Austin	1,163	3
Socorro ISD	El Paso, 79927	El Paso	1,951	3
Waller	Waller, 77484	Waller	1,458	3
Whitehouse ISD	Whitehouse, 75791	Smith	1,335	3
Zapata ISD	Zapata, 78076	Zapata	1,273	4
Academy ISD	Temple, 76501	Bell	446	2
Allen ISD	Allen, 75002	Collins	659	3
Anson ISD	Anson, 79501	Jones	818	2
Barber Hill ISD	Mont Belvieu, 77580	Chambers	732	3
Blanco ISD	Blanco, 78606	Blanco	491	2
Boling ISD	Boling, 77420	Wharton	963	3
Woodsboro ISD	Woodsboro, 78393	Refugio	844	3
White Oaks ISD	White Oaks, 75693	Gregg	855	2
Snook ISD	Snook, 77878	Burleson	536	2
Spur ISD	Spur, 79370	Dickens	536	2

TEXAS (Cont'd.)

Name of Unit	Location of Supt.	County	No. of Pupils	No. of Schools
Three Rivers ISD	Three Rivers, 78071	Live Oak	712	3
Tidehaven ISD	El Maton, 77440	Matagorda	816	4
Waelder ISD	Waelder, 78959	Gonzales	337	2
Boyd ISD	Boyd, 76023	Wise	636	2
Broaddus ISD	Broaddus, 75929	San Augustine	447	2
Cedar Hill ISD	Cedar Hill, 75104	Dallas	983	3
Coppell ISD	Coppell, 75019	Dallas	507	2
Central Heights ISD	Nacogdoches, 75961	Nacogdoches	408	2
Crosbyton	Crosbyton, 79322	Crosby	845	4
Dawson ISD	Dawson, 76639	Navarro	343	2
Detroit ISD	Detroit, 75436	Red River	473	3
Dripping Springs ISD	Dripping Springs, 78620	Hays	784	3
Eastland ISD	Eastland, 76448	Eastland	809	3
Electra ISD	Electra, 76360	Wichita	853	4
Evadale ISD	Evadale, 77615	Jasper	476	2
Flatonia ISD	Flatonia, 78941	Fayette	470	2
Giddings ISD	Giddings, 78942	Lee	933	3
Grand Saline ISD	Grand Saline, 75140	Van Zandt	878	2
Hart ISD	Hart, 79043	Castro	655	2
Hull-Daisetta ISD	Daisetta, 75533	Liberty	813	3
Jourdanton ISD	Jourdanton, 78026	Atascosa	731	2
Kennard ISD	Kennard, 75847	Houston	490	2
Lazbuddie ISD	Lazbuddie, 79053	Parmer	323	2
Mart ISD	Mart, 76664	McLennan	733	3
Mt. Enterprise ISD	Mt. Enterprise, 75681	Rush	318	2
Olton ISD	Olton, 79064	Lamb	991	3
Pottsboro ISD	Pottsboro, 75076	Grayson	671	4
Shallowater ISD	Shallowater, 79363	Lubbock	726	2
Roby ISD	Roby, 79543	Fisher	315	2

VIRGINIA

Henrico County	Highland Springs, 23075	Henrico	32,974	33
Henry County	Martinsville, 24112	Henry	12,936	24
Roanoke City	Roanoke, 24009	Roanoke City	17,493	34
Albemarle County	Charlottesville, 22901	Albemarle	8,647	19
Danville City	Danville, 24541	Danville City	9,602	18
Hanover County	Ashland, 23005	Hanover	9,866	17
Pulaski County	Pulaski, 24301	Pulaski	7,196	13
Bristol City	Bristol, 24201	Bristol City	3,038	7
Dickenson County	Clintwood, 24228	Dickenson	4,379	9
Greenville County	Emporia, 23847	Greenville	3,474	7
Northampton County	Eastville, 23347	Northampton	2,910	8
Staunton City	Staunton, 24401	Staunton	4,366	8
Appomattox County	Appomattox, 24522	Appomattox	2,380	4
Clifton Forge City	Clifton Forge, 24422	Clifton Forge City	1,127	3
Galax City	Galax, 24333	Galax City	1,274	2
Lexington City	Lexington, 24450	Lexington City	1,083	3
Suffolk City	Suffolk, 23434	Suffolk City	1,886	5
West Point	King William, 23086	King William	662	2

APPENDIX II

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
PRINCIPAL'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What year did desegregation begin in your school? 19___

2. Was desegregation of your school

_____ a. voluntary
_____ b. court ordered
_____ c. directives from the federal government

3. Would you say that the process of desegregation proceeded with

_____ a. no interruption to educational process
_____ b. minimum interruption to educational process
_____ c. very disruptive to educational process

4. Would you say that the desegregation of your school has resulted in

_____ a. withdrawal of a large number of white students from your school
_____ b. white flight of families outside the school district
_____ c. no noticable difference in enrollment of white students

5. In your opinion, is the overall quality of education now being received as compared with five years ago

_____ a. better
_____ b. same
_____ c. worse

6. In your opinion, in the long run, will desegregation of your school have an effect on the community?

_____ a. positive advantage to the community
_____ b. no change in the community
_____ c. negative or disadvantage to the community

7. Now we would like you to make an estimate about the composition of your school's student body and staff in 1970 and 1975.

	Fall 1970	Fall 1975
Total enrollment of your school	_____	_____
Percent black of total enrollment	_____	_____
Total professional staff	_____	_____
Percent total professional staff, black	_____	_____

If you would like, please comment further on any of the opinions you have expressed in the questions above, or on any other current or past experience in your community as it has desegregated its schools. (Use the back of this sheet or a separate sheet if needed.)

X

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
SUPERINTENDENT'S QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What year did desegregation begin in your school district? 19___

2. Was desegregation of your school district

_____ a. voluntary
_____ b. court ordered
_____ c. directives from the federal government

3. Would you say that the process of desegregation proceeded with

_____ a. no interruption to educational process
_____ b. minimum interruption to educational process
_____ c. very disruptive to educational process

4. Would you say that the desegregation of your school district has resulted in

_____ a. withdrawal of a large number of white students from the public school district
_____ b. white flight of families outside the school district
_____ c. no noticable difference in enrollment of white students

5. In your opinion, is the overall quality of education now being received as compared with five years ago

_____ a. better
_____ b. same
_____ c. worse

6. In your opinion, in the long run, will desegregation of your school district have an effect on the community?

_____ a. positive advantage to the community
_____ b. no change in the community
_____ c. negative or disadvantage to the community

7. Now, we would like you to make an estimate for your school district about the composition of your student body and staff in 1970 and 1975.

	Fall 1970	Fall 1975
Total enrollment, grades 1 - 12	_____	_____
Percent black of total enrollment	_____	_____
Total professional staff	_____	_____
Percent total professional staff, black	_____	_____
Number of schools in district	_____	_____
Number of biracial schools*	_____	_____

*Biracial schools are defined, for the purpose of this questionnaire, as those schools having a white-black student ratio within 15 percentage points either way of the system-wide ratio. For example, if the total enrollment of the system is 30 percent black, a biracial school would be one having a black enrollment of between 15 and 45 percent.

If you would like, please comment further on any of the opinions you have expressed in the questions above, or on any other current or past experience in your district as it has desegregated its schools. (Use the back of this sheet or a separate sheet if needed.)

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